Community colleges that beat your alma mater

Washington MONTHLY

OUR THIRD ANNUAL COLLEGE RANKINGS

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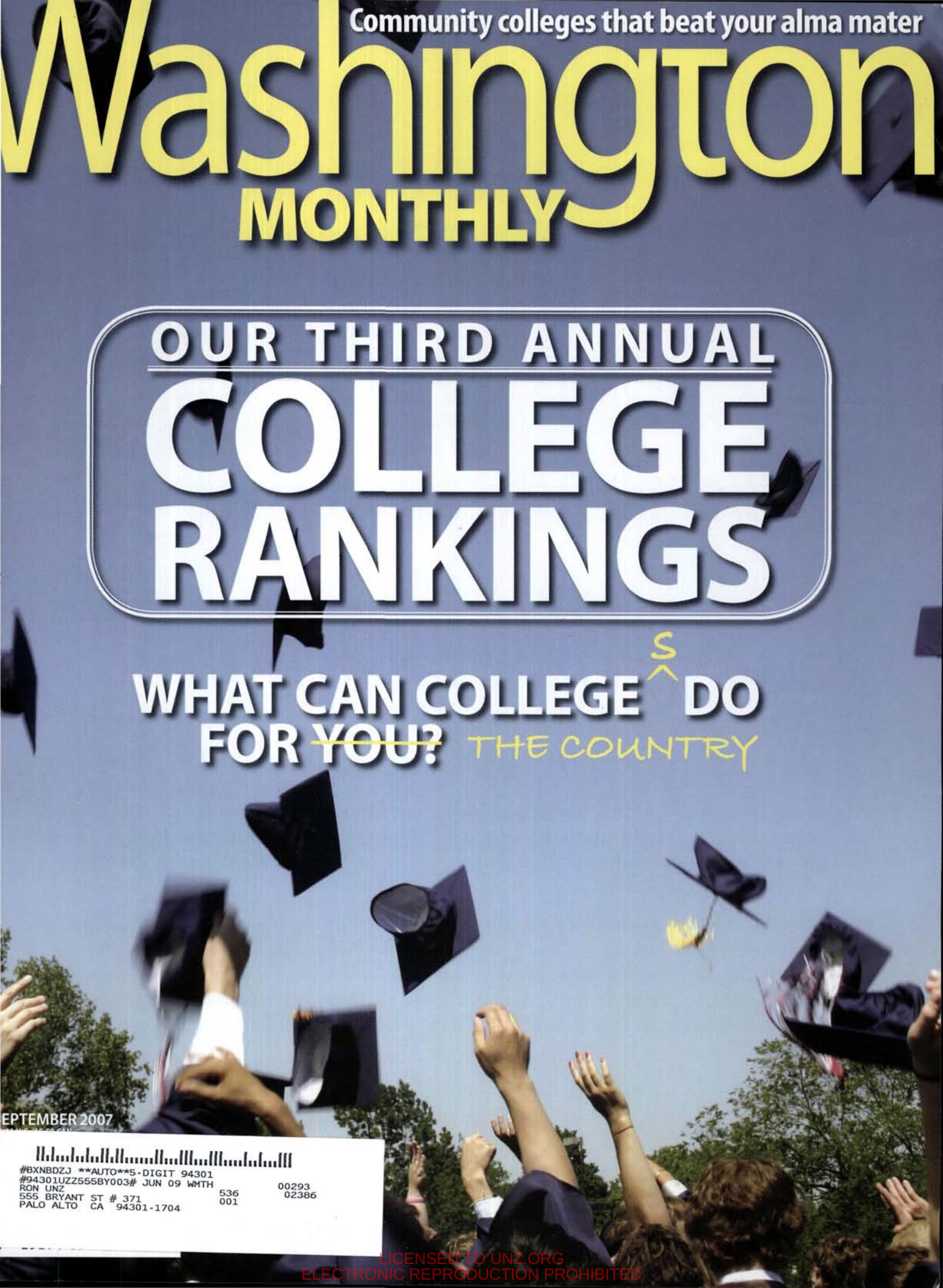

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Janelle Nodhturft graduated magna cum laude in May 2007 with a triple major in psychology, French and international relations. During her four years at Bucknell she studied abroad and participated in service-learning projects in Africa and Central America — including in Nicaragua, where she helped serve communities in need as a member of the Bucknell Brigade. Janelle is typical of our well-rounded students who excel in the classroom, laboratory, and the world as they prepare to lead in a global society.

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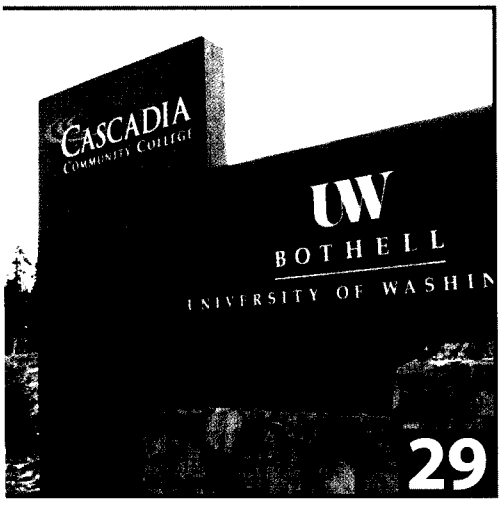

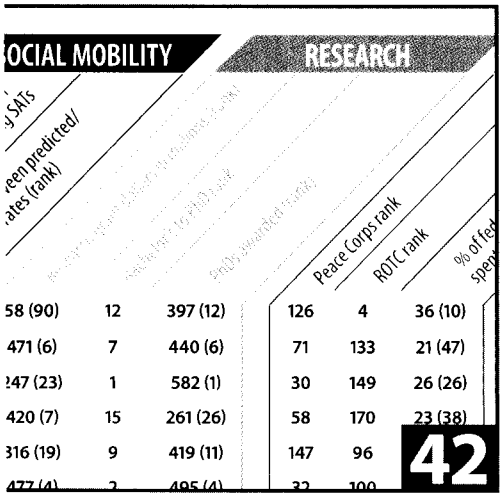

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Editor's Note

PAUL GLASTRIS

The Tyranny of Prestige

This month we present our third annual *Washington Monthly* College Guide. As in previous years, our aim is to offer an alternative to the *U.S. News & World Report* and similar college guides. Those guides focus on what colleges can do for you. We focus on what colleges are doing for the country.

The rankings begin on page 42, and as you'll see, the results diverge sharply from the rankings most of us are used to seeing. Princeton, number one on the *U.S. News* list, comes in seventy-eighth on ours. Texas A&M, rated sixtieth by *U.S. News*, is number one on our list.

Surely, you might ask, we don't *really* think that Texas A&M is *better* than Princeton? Well, yes, in a way. Remember, we aren't trying, as *U.S. News* does, to rate how selective or academically prestigious a given school is, but rather how much it contributes to the common good. The whole point is to recognize the broader role colleges and universities play in our national life and to reward those institutions that best fulfill that role. After all, almost every major challenge America now faces—from stagnant wages to the lack of fluent Arab speakers in the federal government—could be met in part by better harnessing the power of our colleges and universities.

So instead of measuring, say, the average SAT scores of incoming freshmen, or the percentage of alumni who donate money, we rank colleges based on three criteria: social mobility, research, and service. In other words, is the school recruiting and graduating low-income students? Is it producing PhDs and cutting-edge research? And is it encouraging in its students an ethic of service? By this yardstick, Texas A&M really does outperform every other university in America (a nose ahead of UCLA and UC Berkeley).

Ah, you might say, isn't academic excellence also an important—arguably the most important—gauge of a school's contribution to the country? Sure it is. And if we could get reliable data about how much learning is going on in American colleges, we'd eagerly include it in our rankings. But we can't: the sound data that does exist, compiled by the National Survey of Student Engagement (NSSE), is kept under wraps by colleges and universities. *U.S. News* can't get the data either, which is why its editors must resort to statistical alchemy.

And even if we *were* able to include trustworthy data on academic quality in our rankings, the results would likely still scramble the traditional hierarchy of academic prestige we all carry around in our heads. As we explained last year (see "Is Our Students Learning?," September 2006), experts who have seen the NSSE data report that many elite schools don't do all that well on these academic measures either. Prestige simply isn't synonymous with good teaching. Indeed, as Kevin Carey shows elsewhere in this issue—see "America's Best Community Colleges," page 24, and "Built to Teach," page 29—some unknown community colleges offer more challenging educations than do certain well-regarded four-year universities.

In addition to reliable numbers on academic performance, there are other kinds of data we'd love to get our hands on. For instance, to fully measure a school's commitment to service, we'd ideally like to know how many of its graduates become teachers, social workers, or public servants employed by the government. The Education Department could generate these numbers fairly easily by matching state employment records against individual graduation data from colleges and universities. Unfortunately, colleges won't disclose that information. And their lobbyists in Washington, citing dubious privacy concerns, have blocked all efforts to mandate such disclosure (see "Inside the Higher Ed Lobby," page 35).

Part of the reason that schools fight disclosure is that they don't want Washington challenging their autonomy. Part of it is also the fear that if the public had solid information about the quality of the education offered inside the classroom, colleges and universities would be under all sorts of market pressure to change the way they do business. (And indeed they would be—that's why we favor it.)

Ultimately, though, keeping a lid on this information isn't in the public interest, nor is it in the long-term interest of most colleges and universities. It merely protects a few dozen pricey schools that, for reasons more of legacy than of merit, are able to monopolize the upper ranks of prestige while robbing many "lesser" schools of a glory that is rightly theirs.

In any Washington interest group, policy is usually set by a handful of powerful members. Higher education is no exception. But occasionally, the majority revolts. That may happen, sooner or later, in the higher ed world. We hope that the *Washington Monthly* College Rankings help spark that revolution. WM

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Fighting words

In our June issue, we asked seven recent veterans of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan to tell us how a Democratic presidential candidate could win their vote in 2008. The veterans' articles, which presented a wide range of political views, provoked a lively debate both inside and outside the military. Here are some of the responses we received:

While Andrew Exum's military service is commendable, he's still AWOL when it comes to politics ("Understand the War We're In"). Doesn't he know that Democrats think there isn't any war, that it's just a bumper-sticker slogan, as former Senator John Edwards put it? If there's no war, what's there to understand?

David Adrian
Medical corpsman, U.S. Army, 1966–69
Pontiac, Mich.

If you had been in Ronald Reagan's Army in 1985, by 1995 it would have looked like it was broken, due to the post–Gulf I force structure cuts. Those were the legacy of George I and Clinton/Gore, and today are at the core of the Army's problems in Iraq/Afghanistan. There are too many missions and not enough soldiers (and Marines) to perform them. I blame the Bush administration for not fixing the problem, but it was born well before they came into office. Only an active Army end strength increase of 250,000 will fix the problem—and none of the candidates running for president in 2008 have addressed anything more than the cosmetics.

LTC Doug Jorrey (Ret.)
Newcastle, Wyo.

I would take issue with Clint Douglas's characterization of his "friends on the left" ("Elect More Jim Webbs"). I am a liberal and proud of it. I also work in a defense agency, have a tremendous amount of respect for the institution, the men and women who make up the armed forces, and the job of fighting to protect our nation, our allies, and our heritage.

However, there is a big difference between being "suspicious" of the military and being antimilitary. I don't think any liberal in his or her heart of hearts is outright antimilitary—unless they believe the United States should not stand as the beacon and protector of freedom, democracy, and human rights. Most liberals I know ardently defend that role for the U.S.

Do I have a suspicion of the DoD? You bet I do. And working in a DoD agency, I have good reason—the waste, the cowboy mentality of a few people, and the occasional cover for incompetence. Does that mean that I disrespect it, the people in it, or even, most of the time, its missions (Iraq excluded!)? Absolutely not. I am proud to be a part of the apparatus that strives to defend and protect all of us.

Doug Reimel
Via e-mail

Thanks for nothing

Thanks to Spencer Ackerman ("The Bitter End," June) for pointing out that "supporting the troops" is a misplaced narrative for war opponents.

I speak as a liberal Democrat who opposed the war in Iraq right from the beginning. But I've thought to myself many times that it's odd for our party to try to coopt "supporting the troops" as a narrative, when it's always seemed that a majority of troops are conservative, Republican, and supporters of this war—no matter how much fire they take or how many bombs explode around them.

> The best hope for the Democrats is to make the story of the Bosnian and Serbian war a centerpiece of why this nation fights and how it fights.

There's also a corollary to Mr. Ackerman's thesis that he alluded to but didn't expand upon. It's a political folly for war opponents to fail to challenge the Republican narrative that we should allow service members—"commanders on the ground" and other euphemisms—to determine our policy. On the contrary, what any democracy requires is the exact opposite: that the civilian political leadership, *not* the military, should determine war policy. The Democratic Party's institutional fear of "looking weak on national security" is the culprit here, as one manifestation of the fear is to never be perceived as challenging anyone in uniform.

Democrats are doing better than we have in a long time in controlling the debate. But still too often we fall prey to fear and end up shooting ourselves in the foot.

Jayant Reddy
Washington, D.C.

I have to say that your words are heartfelt and sincere. But to say that the soldiers cannot see the big picture is a stretch. Many of the younger soldiers may not, but you can bet that the leadership can see the picture quite clearly. If ever there was a mission that all of America should have supported, this is one—much like the war against the Germans and the Japanese in World War II. Though Iraq may not have actively participated in the attacks of September 11, it certainly supported them, like much of that region.

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I completely agree that we should have gone in strong, or at least brought in many more troops after the regime collapsed in Baghdad. Law and order should have been the first order of business. But it's too late now for such wisdom. As you said, our civilian leadership has messed this up from the top through our houses of Congress and a media bent on seeing the destruction of the president of the United States.

We in the military will hold the Democrats responsible, as you so rightly point out. If not for the dissent in our government, this mission might have worked.

Robert Lanois
Massachusetts Army National Guard

Remember when?

"The Last Wars We Won," by Paul Glastris, is the best piece in your excellent June 2007 issue. As a retired AF 0-6 who finished up a thirty-year career teaching strategy at the National War College, I find the analysis in this piece superb. The Bosnian and Serbian war is the benchmark, and the current war in Iraq is the anomaly. The Bosnian/Serbian conflict was a multilateral approach combining the art of diplomacy and the art of war. We were able to set the conditions for regime change, but it was the Serbs who got rid of their dictator. What a great story—and we buried it as a people.

The best hope for the Democrats is to make that story a centerpiece of why this nation fights, and how it fights. I hope your piece is just the beginning.

Col. James Callard, U.S. Air Force (Ret.)
Durango, Colo.

To argue that modern Democrats know how to fight a war better than modern Republicans is insane. Where is the proof? Kennedy and Johnson—Vietnam. Carter—Iran. How about Reagan and the Soviet Union? How about George H. W. Bush and the rescue of Kuwait? How about the fact that for almost a decade, there has been no terrorist attack in the U.S.?

Gary D. Lehr
The Woodlands, Tex.

Shrum's sole skill

The review of Bob Shrum's book, *No Excuses: Confessions of a Serial Campaigner* ("Shrum and Dumber," by Matthew Yglesias, June), covers this consultant's particular skill at defeating his own clients but doesn't mention his greatest skill: defeating other consultants. In the lead-up to Gore's presidential campaign, Shrum cleverly defeated Gore's original consultant, Bob Squier. Squier was one of the most successful and innovative consultants in American political history. Squier was both cavalier and capricious, but he had a knack for winning. Shrum worked tirelessly to take the Gore account, and finally did.

Likewise, in 1991, after Shrum's candidate of choice, Mario Cuomo, dropped out, Shrum flew into Manchester and wooed Bob Kerrey away from his longtime consultant and friend, Joe Rothstein. Rothstein had been with Kerrey since Kerrey's days as a pharmacist running a drugstore in Omaha, Nebraska. Rothstein, one of the deans of American political consulting, had done every campaign Kerrey had been in and never lost one. Yet Shrum's talent for bringing along celebrity contributors (who were wowed by his "Kennedy connection"), and for using his considerable debate-coaching skills to befuddle his prey, persuaded Kerrey's camp to dump his old friend. Kerrey was then remade into something of Shrum's creation. One newspaper claimed that Shrum had taken the "warmest man in politics and put him on ice—literally." (The reference was to Shrum's infamous TV spot that placed Kerrey on a dark and empty ice rink talking about global trade issues.) Kerrey then slipped out of the primaries almost overnight as the other two leading contestants fought to explain their bimbo eruptions or their terminal cancer. This was a difficult primary to lose, but Shrum found a way.

Savaronola, the Florentine political consultant (of sorts) for the fallen Medici family, was eventually roasted alive—an option sadly missing today.

Algernon Jaeger
Bozeman, Mont.

Too hot for D.C.

Though I don't often admit this in public (at least not in D.C.), I am a subscriber to *Us Weekly*—in addition to your wonderful magazine, of course. When I got the May issue in the mail, my first thought was, "Sweet! My *Us* is two days early!" ("Look Who's Hitched: The Secret Lives of Washington's Power Couples!," by T. A. Frank; "Washington's 60 Sizzlingest Power Couples," by Nick Baumann and Oliver Haydock.) My next thought: "But wait ... Valerie Plame and Joe Wilson? Hey, this is the *Washington Monthly*!" Then: "'Still smokin'—hilarious." And finally: "*Us* be damned. I can't wait to dig into the *Washington Monthly*."

The magazine looks terrific, inside and out—and the writing is as wonderful as ever. Thanks for a delightful spring surprise!

Kathleen Romig Krepps
Via e-mail

I thought someone was playing a joke on me by putting my name on a subscription to *People* magazine. I hope this is not a permanent change.

If so I would think seriously about not renewing my subscription.

Brian Bielefeld
Via e-mail

Corrections

In "Washington's 60 Sizzlingest Power Couples" (May 2007), we wrote that Ann Castagnetti ran John Kerry's search for a running mate in 2004. In fact, she helped the campaign assemble a staff for the future running mate. We also wrote that while discussing Arnold Schwarzenegger's political standing on CNN in 2005, Howard Kurtz disclosed that his wife, Sheri Annis, had worked for Schwarzenegger's school initiative in 2002, but not that she was later Schwarzenegger's spokeswoman. However, it was on the school initiative that Annis served as Schwarzenegger's spokeswoman. Finally, we identified David Wurmser as a former undersecretary for arms control and international security affairs at the State Department. He served as a special assistant to John Bolton, who held that position. We regret the errors.

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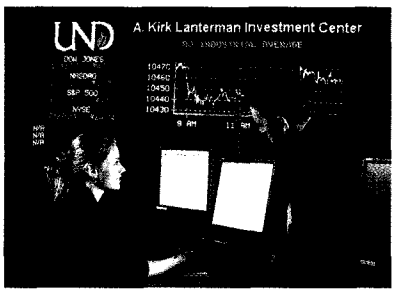

50

UND's 13,000 students come from 50 states and more than 50 countries.

47

UND is one of only 47 public universities in the United States with both accredited law and medical schools.

UND by the numbers

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At the University of North Dakota, you'll be part of an environment filled with an innovative, creative and entrepreneurial spirit. This spirit enables UND graduates to succeed and become leaders in their professions and communities.

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$448.5 million

Since 2001, UND has received $448.5 million for sponsored research programs from internal and external sources.

7

The men's hockey team has won seven NCAA Division I national titles.

106,000

UND's new $20 million Wellness Center features state-of-the-art facilities and equipment in 106,000 square feet.

8

UND ranks in the top 10 "Best Schools for Entrepreneurs," placing eighth among over 700 schools surveyed by *The Princeton Review* and *Entrepreneur* magazine.

80,000

Many of UND's 80,000 living alumni are leaders in their fields, including CEOs of Fortune 500® companies, government and military leaders, physicians, educators, engineers, scientists, journalists and professional athletes, just to name a few.

$1 billion

UND's economic impact on the state and region is more than $1 billion a year.

23.4

First-time freshmen enrolled at UND in 2005 scored an average of 23.4 on their ACT tests. Over the last decade UND freshmen have consistently averaged scores over 22, staying well ahead of the U.S. national average ACT score of about 21.

4

The American Academy of Family Physicians ranks the UND School of Medicine and Health Sciences fourth out of the 125 medical schools in the nation for producing family medicine physicians.

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TILTING *at windmills*

By Charles Peters

How to clear your inbox

The Small Business Administration canceled 8,000 loans to hurricane victims without notice to the borrowers. When the borrowers sought an explanation, they were told, according to Ron Nixon of the *New York Times*, "that they had voluntarily given up their loans," which was not true.

Why this fiasco? The SBA was being criticized for being too slow in getting money to borrowers whose loan applications had been approved. The SBA's solution to this public relations problem: cancel the applications of the borrowers who were waiting for money. If you don't show up on our books as having applied for a loan, we can't be accused of being too slow to give you the money.

Formaldehyde preservation

A similar example of bureaucratic logic occurred when FEMA learned there might be a problem with formaldehyde in the trailers they had provided for Katrina victims. Ordinary human beings might conclude that the trailers should be tested immediately to see if formaldehyde was present, and if it created a danger to the health of the occupants. But we're not talking about ordinary human beings. Instead, we're dealing with an attorney in FEMA's general counsel's office, who, according to Claudia Lauer of the *Los Angeles Times*, replied: "Do not institute any testing until we give the OK. Once you get results and should they indicate some problem, the clock is running on our duty to respond to them."

In other words, protecting FEMA from lawsuits is more important than the health of the Katrina victims living in the trailers.

And, proving that it was definitely a part of the Bush administration, FEMA blocked investigation of this incident by invoking attorney-client privilege.

If it ain't broke, break it

One bureaucracy that has a splendid record of efficiency has been put on a near-starvation diet by the Bush administration. "Staffing at the Social Security Administration will soon be at its lowest level since 1974," reports the *Washington Post*'s Stephen Barr. "The number of disability claims waiting for hearing decisions is at an all-time high."

> Hillary's comment seemed straight out of Condoleezza Rice's playbook.

The agency's head, Michael J. Astrue, says "that inadequate funding since 2001 is largely to blame for staffing and workflow problems." Was the Bush gang trying to create problems with the present Social Security system to gain support for its privatizing proposals?

Going back

The Associated Press reports that the Army missed its recruiting targets for the second month in a row. It may be that potential recruits heard the same news that I did on CNN: that 200,000 soldiers have now been on two or more tours in Iraq.

Can you imagine what it's like to fly out of Baghdad thinking that at last you're safe, you're not going to have your brain injured or your legs blown off, and you're going home to your family and friends—and then comes the order to go back to the exact kind of hell you have just escaped? There is no way to avoid the order other than desertion. Only draft dodgers like George Bush and Dick Cheney, who have never faced this dilemma, could bear to do this to these young men and women, more than 3,700 of whom have been killed and 27,000 wounded.

Our younger readers may not know that even at their Vietnam worst, Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon did not require soldiers to do two tours, much less three.

Bush and Lincoln

George W. Bush is said to identify with Abraham Lincoln. Most observers have found it hard to detect any similarities. But I may have found one: on at least one occasion, Lincoln displayed the same lack of empathy for his exhausted army that has been characteristic of our current president. Documents have come to light indicating that Lincoln was indignant at General George Meade for not following up on the Union victory at Gettysburg by not immediately pursuing the retreating Confederates, cutting them off from their bases in Virginia and bringing the war to a quick end. If you know anything at all about Gettysburg, you know it was a vicious and bloody struggle, leaving both victor and vanquished battered and battle-weary.

If Meade had given the order to charge after the Confederates, mutiny would only have been prevented because the soldiers were too tired to do anything.

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Marshal flaw

A fact that I suspect most people don't know is, as the *Boston Globe*'s Sean Murphy reminds us, that U.S. marshals are political appointees. The U.S. marshals (to be clear, not the air marshals) are responsible, writes Murphy, for "securing courthouses, protecting judges, juries and witnesses and other court officials, capturing fugitives, and transporting prisoners." But instead of Tommy Lee Jones relentlessly doing his duty pursuing Harrison Ford, what we get are people like Anthony Dichio, appointed by George W. Bush on the recommendation of a former Republican governor, Paul Cellucci, for whom Dichio had acted as a driver. Dichio ultimately had to be dismissed from his marshal's job because of what the *Globe* described as his "lax work habits."

No news is bad news

American newspapers are shrinking, not only literally reducing their size, but cutting back their coverage. In a recent speech, reprinted in *Duke* magazine, Kevin Sack, a former prizewinning reporter for the *Los Angeles Times* who is now with the *New York Times*, cited statistics showing that 2,100 newspaper jobs were lost in 2005 and another 1,000 in 2006. Noting that his former employer, the Tribune Company, had closed bureaus in Johannesburg, Moscow, London, Beijing, Beirut, and Islamabad—"not that there's much news in any of those places"—he fears we are fast approaching the day when the Associated Press and the *New York Times* "may be the only print organizations that comprehensively cover our country and our world."

Not to worry, we're told. The Internet will fill the gap. But the truth is that the bloggers rarely offer us anything more than opinion, seasoned occasionally by a new fact or two. No in-depth reporting is done, and complexity is rarely acknowledged, even less explored.

> Bloggers rarely offer us anything more than opinion, seasoned by a new fact or two.

The part-time solution

Back sometime in the 1980s, the *Monthly* had a writer working on an article proposing welfare reform. I favored a work requirement, but, wanting it to be humane, I pressed the author to recommend part-time jobs for welfare mothers. She kept coming back to report that she could not find a single expert who agreed with me. Those who favored a work requirement all thought the jobs should be full-time. I lost interest in the article, and the author lost interest in working for the *Monthly*.

So you can imagine the warm glow of vindication that came over me when I read about the recent survey by the Pew Research Center that found, according to David Crary of the Associated Press, that "60 percent of working mothers said a part-time job would be best."

I hope this news will penetrate the minds of those running welfare reform, so they can stop pressuring those poor women to leave their children, often taking a long bus trip to a full-time job and returning home too exhausted to do a decent job of parenting.

And I hope every employer will get the message. Right now, there just aren't enough part-time jobs. Pew's Paul Taylor tells the AP's Jocelyn Noveck that "by and large the workplace has not accommodated the desire for part-time work."

Bumper crop

It is depressing to learn that House Democrats have passed a farm bill that offers little reform of the present insane subsidy system. The reason cited is that House Speaker Nancy Pelosi wants to protect the seats of newly elected Democrats from rural districts. But who are these Democrats afraid of? Fifty-seven percent of farmers get no federal subsidies.

Who does benefit? "The largest 8 percent of farms receive 58 percent of the payments," reports George Will, who can hardly be suspected of loading a statistic to make a populist point. If it's only 8 percent who are going to be hurt, you wouldn't think these Democrats would be afraid. It must be the money those 8 percent can contribute to the defeat of candidates who displease them.

Grim reapers

In case you missed the most recent farm subsidy scandal, it's the news that the Department of Agriculture paid $1.1 billion to farmers who were no longer farming because they happened to be dead. One farm in Illinois, according to the *Washington Post*'s Sarah Cohen, collected $400,000 on behalf of an owner who lived in Florida before his death in 1995. The farm certified that the deceased was "actively engaged" in its management. According to the Government Accountability Office, payments like this are "approved without review" 40 percent of the time.

Wall Street's sub-prime sin

First Alliance, a California sub-prime lender aspiring to the big time, sought financing from Lehman Brothers, one of the pillars of Wall Street. A Lehman vice president was assigned to investigate First Alliance.

His report described First Alliance as a "sweatshop" pushing "high-pressure sales for people in a weak state." He concluded that company employees left "their ethics at the door." So what did those respectable bankers at Lehman do? They lent First Alliance $500 million and helped it raise $700 million more.

The *Wall Street Journal*'s Michael Hudson cites Lehman as "a prime example of how Wall Street's money and expertise have helped transform sub-prime lending into a major force in the U.S. financial markets." This explains why, now that the sub-prime business is in deep trouble, some "consumer advocates and reformers are pointing the finger at Wall Street."

Why avert catastrophe?

Another villain identified by a *Journal* reporter, in this case Greg Ip, is also an eminence—indeed, none other than Alan Greenspan. It seemed that when a Federal Reserve governor suggested to Greenspan that the Fed

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use its examiners to crack down on predatory lending, Greenspan rejected the idea.

No wonder they don't care for accountability

This magazine has consistently criticized the National Education Association for its opposition to teacher accountability. We always assumed, however, that the NEA's position stemmed from a loyalty to the best interests of its members.

But it turns out that the NEA is putting its own interests ahead of its members. According to a lawsuit filed in federal court in Washington State, and reported by Gretchen Morgenson of the *New York Times*, the NEA "breached its duty to its members by accepting millions of dollars in payments from two financial firms whose high-cost investments it recommended to members." This reminds me of the colleges and universities that accepted bribes from student loan lenders to prefer their loans over the loans from the federal government that would have provided a better deal for the students.

The unretiring AARP

I worry that the AARP is involved in a similar conflict of interest. It has recently announced that it is expanding its involvement in the health insurance business. This represents the completion of a full circle for the AARP. The organization was conceived in sin as the offspring of the Colonial Penn Insurance Company, and only achieved legitimacy as it separated itself from Colonial Penn. Gradually, however, it has crept back into the insurance business, first with Medigap and then with prescription drug coverage. It has maintained a shred of honor by offering coverage on the low side of what's available from other companies. Even so, it now has a stake in maintaining the system of private insurance which gives it a strong stake in opposing the single-payer reform in health care that many of us see as essential.

Will they ever learn?

Have you considered how ill-equipped we have been for the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan? Not only have we been terribly slow in providing our soldiers with the protection they need against IEDs, but the weapons we have provided are often better suited to overkill than to precise targeting of the guerillas we're fighting. We had the same problem in Vietnam with bombs landing in the wrong place and killing innocent victims, and firepower more suited to Normandy than to picking out guerillas in a small village. Israel made a similar mistake in Lebanon, seemingly destroying half the country in a futile attempt to single out Hezbollah members.

Why didn't we learn the lessons of Vietnam? One excuse—and a good one—was that our potential enemy for the next two decades was the Soviet Union. But since 1993, there has been no excuse for not applying the lessons of Vietnam, especially when they were emphasized after the disaster in Somalia. I fear the reason we did not learn these lessons is because the defense industry makes a lot more money on jets and tanks than on body armor. And Pentagon bureaucrats find it easier to commit large sums on the big-ticket weapons and thus increase their immense budgets with all of the generous perks and promotion opportunities that such budgets entail.

> Even at their Vietnam worst, Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon did not require soldiers to do two tours.

Flying low

You must be sure to read Dale Russakoff's series in the *Washington Post* on what's been happening to average people as the rich have been getting richer. In one item she tells of a United Airlines flight attendant whose income "fell from $47,000 in 1994 to $43,000 last year, even though she is working significantly more hours." Because of a default by United, the pension she can look forward to has been cut from $2,400 a month to $1,440 a month.

Flying high

During the years that the United Airlines flight attendant's salary was decreasing and her pension was cut almost in half, the average S&P 500 executive was seeing his compensation grow and grow and grow. According to Ellen Simon of the Associated Press, it didn't just double, it is now six times more than it was in 1990.

If this item troubles you, you may just need more medication

It is well known that doctors augment their incomes with lecture fees, free trips, and other goodies courtesy of the pharmaceutical companies. I'm sure that most people, however, were shocked by the recent disclosure of the worst offender among medical specialists. According to Gardiner Harris of the *New York Times*, it is psychiatrists, the supposed guardians of our mental health. In Vermont, for example, they received a reported $2.25 million from drug manufacturers. One Minnesota shrink was on the take to the tune of an incredible $689,000. These figures do not include the "free" drug samples that are provided by pharmaceutical salesmen. It is hard not to suspect that all this largesse has not influenced the explosive growth of psychiatric drug prescriptions, most dismayingly among children, in whom the effects of such drugs are the most controversial.

Longtime *Monthly* readers will not be as shocked by these figures as those who have more recently come to our pages. Veterans will remember an article by E. Fuller Torrey which revealed that not a single Washington psychiatrist did charity work. How can we be surprised that we have a nation dominated by selfishness and greed, when that is what we learn from our exemplars of normal behavior?

Slightly less malnourished

One good provision in the House farm bill provides for an increase in the value of food stamps for Americans desperately struggling to make ends meet. A tiny group

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of congressmen deserve the credit. They lived for a week on food stamps, which have an average value of $3 a day. The story of the hardship they endured helped persuade their fellow legislators to do, if not the right thing, at least something better. A family of four will now get an additional $48 a month.

Loose Moose

You may wonder why the NASA scandals took so long to reach public attention. A possible explanation is that NASA's inspector general, Robert "Moose" Cobb, has not proved to be the most diligent of investigators. One ethics report found that, in the words of the *Washington Post*'s Marc Kaufman, Cobb had "created the appearance of a lack of independence by lunching, drinking, and golfing with top NASA officials." Another ethics report concluded that Cobb interfered with investigative and audit staff for "reasons that appear, at the very least, improper." And Senator Bill Nelson cited allegations that Cobb—again in Kaufman's words—"did not investigate several incidents that could have embarrassed NASA and its leadership."

Bushism distilled

"I'm aware," George W. Bush told a recent press conference, "that perhaps someone in the administration did disclose the name of that person [Valerie Plame]. You know, I've often thought about what would have happened if that person had come forth and said, 'I did it.' Would we have had this [sic], you know, endless hours of investigation and a lot of money being spent on this matter?"

Here is a truly delicious revelation of the White House mind at work. We don't have to feel guilty. There would have been no problem for Karl or Dick or Scooter if Richard Armitage had come forward and said he was the first leaker. That would have left everyone off the hook.

Well, not quite. It seems that Armitage did disclose his leak to the State Department counsel, William Taft. According to the *Post*'s Michael Abramowitz, Taft then called the White House to say he had information about the leak. Did the White House want to know about it? The answer was no. The White House official who gave it: Alberto Gonzales.

This item may fall on deaf ears

Whatever the artistic merits of the great change that occurred in popular music in the mid-1960s, it definitely separated the generations in one sense. Those who had passed their thirtieth birthday thought the music was too loud. Those younger only seemed to want it louder. This appears to be at least one case in which the old fogies were right. According to an article by Stephanie Rosenbloom in the *New York Times*, there are now more people aged forty-five to sixty-four with hearing loss than there are people over sixty-five with hearing loss. It's the younger group that's cupping its ears and saying, "Speak up."

The responsibles

I loved Barack Obama's response in the South Carolina debate that he would be willing to talk to the bad guys. Hillary Clinton's comment, by contrast, seemed to come straight out of Condoleezza Rice's playbook. I was troubled, however, when Obama joined the ranks of the "responsibles" as he seemed to forget his "out-of Iraq-by-March" pledge and instead talked about being "as careful going out as we were careless going in." Many of the people who talk like that are talking about a matter of years to get our soldiers out of Iraq.

I would remind them that we removed 537,000 troops from Vietnam in four years. That is at a rate of more than 140,000 per year. Furthermore, the Nixon administration was definitely in no hurry to leave, because it wanted to prop up the failed South Vietnamese government for as long as possible.

One thing I hope Barack Obama and others who are being influenced by the responsibles will be sure to investigate is what lies behind those practically forever estimates of how long it's going to take to get out. Consider this report from *Time*'s Michael Duffy:

> Pentagon officials will try to bring back as much of the downtime gear as possible—dining halls, office buildings, vending machines, furniture, mobile latrines, computers, paper clips and acres of living quarters.

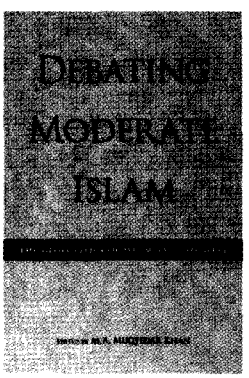
It seems to me that every one of these items, including the Coke machines, could be left behind, as well as all the worn-out military equipment, most especially the thousands of vehicles that are a step away from the junkyard. What we want to be sure to evacuate are all American military and civilian personnel, the Iraqis who stuck their necks out for us, and all military equipment that's in good shape.

I concede the responsibles could be right in their belief that our staying will at some point lead to a stable Iraq. But I ask them to ask themselves if they are confident enough of such an outcome that they can in good conscience tell the soldier leaving for a third tour to risk his life one more time. Would they be willing to risk theirs? WM

Charles Peters is the founding editor of the *Washington Monthly*.

EDITED BY M.A. MUQTEDAR KHAN

Debating Moderate Islam



Based on a special-topic issue of the *American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences* (Fall 2005), *Debating Moderate Islam* brings together prominent Muslim voices from the policy and academic communities to debate the nature of moderate Islam and what moderation means in both a theological and a geopolitical sense. Participants reflect on the future of political Islam, its role in Muslim politics, western policies in the Muslim world, and the future of American-Muslim relations. This book and the debate it presents are vital to understanding these complex issues.

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TEN MILES SQUARE

"... such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) ... [shall] become the Seat of the Government of the United States"
THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

Dodd in the Quad

What the presidential candidates were like in college

By T. A. Frank, David Freedlander, and Eric Zimmermann

Academic achievement in college doesn't necessarily correlate with success in the Oval Office. FDR, for example, was an indifferent student, while Nixon was a brilliant one. But recent history also suggests that a candidate who was a left-leaning Rhodes Scholar in college might make a better president than a candidate who was a right-wing bozo in college. In other words, we can learn something from looking at a candidate's college days.

That's the idea behind the accompanying matrix, which attempts to plot our current presidential contenders according to where they were politically and academically during their college days. Were they strivers or slackers? Were their political beliefs more in line with Karl Marx or Karl Rove? Each candidate has been numbered, so readers who are interested can check out the corresponding explanatory details. Also interspersed in our grid are a few past presidents, for the sake of historical reference. With any luck, this will help readers make a more informed decision—if not necessarily a sensible one.

1. **RUDY GIULIANI:** Ardently supported JFK (and, later, RFK) and, as an undergraduate at Manhattan College, wrote a column in the school paper calling Barry Goldwater an "incompetent, confused and sometimes idiotic man." By the late 1960s, Giuliani was even farther to the left. Republican Congressman Peter King told the *New York Times* about getting to know Rudy in 1967: "That summer, there were riots in Newark and Detroit, and Rudy was very sympathetic to the rioters ... He told me he had gone to a bar and started in on a black guy because he wasn't radical enough. Rudy said before the conversation was over he'd turned him into a Black Power guy." Giuliani's academic performance was strong enough to land him in law school at NYU, from where he would graduate cum laude.

2. **BARACK OBAMA:** Started at Occidental College in 1979 as a less serious student who, according to his autobiography, hung out with "Marxist professors and structural feminists and punk-rock performance poets." Obama's mother worried that he was turning into a "good-time Charlie." Two years later, though, Obama was a diligent transfer student at Columbia University. Obama would later recall his time there as "an intense period of study," during which "I didn't socialize that much. I was like a monk."

3. **HILLARY CLINTON:** Arrived at Wellesley in 1965 as a Goldwater supporter, even assuming the presidency of the college Republicans in her freshman year. By the time she graduated in 1969, however, Hillary Rodham had gone over to the other side, spurred largely by her support for civil rights and antiwar presidential candidate Eugene McCarthy. Her academic performance, though, remained solid, and she graduated with honors.

4. **BILL CLINTON:** Came fresh from the backwoods of Arkansas but managed to be elected class president within weeks of his arrival at tony Georgetown University. A summer internship with Senator J. William Fulbright (and a looming draft) soured him on the Vietnam War, and he strongly supported those fighting for civil rights. His diligence at school would earn him a Rhodes Scholarship and a spot at Yale Law School.

5. **RONALD WILSON REAGAN:** Entered Disciples of Christ Eureka College in 1928 in Eureka, Illinois. He was never a stellar

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student, spending most of his time participating in extracurricular activities. But he already had certain political interests that placed him left of center on the political spectrum. He became a popular student body figure when he led a student strike to protest the college's decision to lay off teachers as the Depression approached, and he quickly became a New Deal supporter after FDR's election.

6. **CHRIS DODD:** Likes to say that he'd be "the first president from Providence College," at which he imbibed "idealism, values, and commitment that have sustained and motivated me." If Dodd managed to soak up a belief system at Providence, however, he nevertheless neglected to soak up much in the way of textbooks. A recent article in the *Cowl*, the Providence College newspaper, describes Dodd "lightheartedly acknowledging that he may not have been a shining example of academic excellence."

7. **JOE BIDEN:** Never got too involved in student activism or 1960s counterculture at the University of Delaware ("I'm not big on flak jackets and tie-dyed shirts, you know, that's not me," he recounted to the *St. Petersburg Times*), but he was "very concerned about the civil-rights movement." While political moderation has always been a Biden trait, academic achievement is another story: Biden graduated 506th out of 688 in 1965. (Later, at Syracuse Law, he managed to rank seventy-sixth in a class of eighty-five.) Never known for being the quiet type, however, Biden received high marks from a professor for his "command of English language."

8. **JOHN EDWARDS:** Hoped to parlay his high-school-golden-boy status into a football scholarship at Clemson College. Edwards made the team as a walk-on but didn't get the scholarship, so he transferred to North Carolina State, majoring in "textile studies" and graduating with honors in 1974. He later attended law school at the University of North Carolina, from which he graduated cum laude. Edwards remained mostly uninterested in politics until well into his career as a trial attorney.

9. **JOHN McCAIN:** Arrived at the Naval Academy with a famous name, since both his grandfather and father had attended the academy and gone on to distinguished military careers. Any interest McCain had in academics, however, was overshadowed by his interest in having a good time. McCain's rebellious antics earned him the nickname "John Wayne" McCain and entrance to the Century Club, a group for students with more than 100 demerits. McCain's academic performance placed him at 790 out of 795 students. He was not yet politically active.

10. **RICHARD NIXON:** Turned down a full scholarship from Harvard (it couldn't cover all his expenses) and instead attended Whittier College, a Quaker school, from which he graduated in 1934, second in his class. Nixon told a biographer that he had been more left-leaning in his college days: "I came out of college more liberal than I am today, more liberal in the sense that I thought it was possible for government to do more than I later found it was practical to do."

11. **GEORGE HERBERT WALKER BUSH:** Entered Yale as a war hero and graduated Phi Beta Kappa in 1948 with a degree in economics. Bush admired and probably shared the political beliefs of his father, Senator Prescott Bush, a typical Northeast, pro-business Republican moderate distrusted by movement conservatives.

12. **FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT:** Followed up an undistinguished academic career at elite Groton with an equally undistinguished academic career at Harvard. His close ties to his cousin Teddy's White House helped earn him the editorship of the *Harvard Crimson*, though, in which he ran full-throated exhortations to fellow students to participate more in extracurricular activities. Noted one such editorial: "The Freshman Glee, Banjo, and Mandolin clubs ... offer an opportunity not only to make new acquaintances ... but also to gain valuable lessons in singing or instrumental playing." But Roosevelt had little use for the less advantaged. In fact, one editorial was devoted to scolding the laxness of membership enforcement at the Union, one of Harvard's exclusive clubs. "Many men who have no rights to the privileges of the Union are continually seen in the building," it complained. Apparently, the *noblesse* had yet to meet up with the *oblige*.

13. **FRED THOMPSON:** Had been a notorious class clown in high school, but his college career at Memphis State University marked his entrance to adulthood. Though he entered the Tennessee GOP machine soon after leaving school, Thompson kept his head in books long enough to win admission to Vanderbilt Law School, where he earned a JD in 1967.

14. **MITT ROMNEY:** Didn't fit in so well with the countercultural movement already sweeping Stanford in 1965 and, according to the *Boston Globe*, was mocked as a square. (And not because of his presidential jaw.) Romney befriended fellow traditionalists, though, and managed to keep favoring LDS over LSD. After completing his missionary work, Romney would transfer to Brigham Young, graduating as valedictorian in 1971.

15. **TOMMY THOMPSON:** Was inspired by Barry Goldwater's "Conscience of a Conservative" and found himself rebelling against the liberalism at the University of Wisconsin. Starting college as an introvert, Thompson struggled to become more socially confident. A former classmate of Thompson's told the *New York Times* that Thompson would approach strangers and say, "I'm Tommy Thompson, and I appreciate your vote and support," although he was not actually running for office. Thompson eventually gained a reputation as an outgoing partier and graduated with grades good enough to gain him admission into the University of Wisconsin's law school, from which he earned a JD in 1967.

16. **GEORGE W. BUSH:** Entered Yale in 1965, as the university was moving increasingly to the left, and felt sufficiently alienated by the political and cultural climate to move correspondingly to the right. Academically, Bush excelled in the Gentleman's C range. WM

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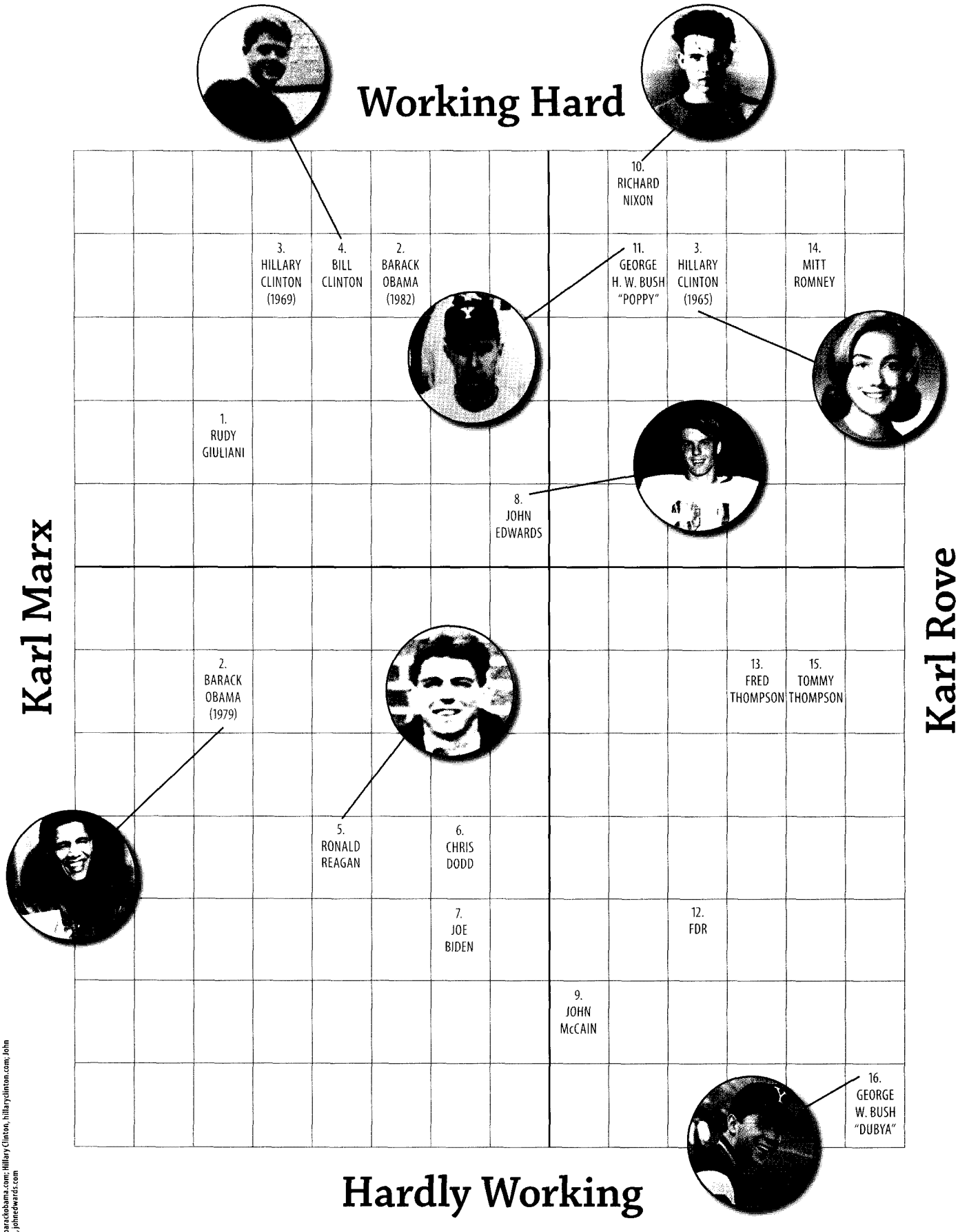

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Enrollment Still Open

The *Washington Monthly* presents a comprehensive guide to college courses of interest to the politically minded student.

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CANCELLED

MYTHOLOGY 200: EVOLUTION
This course examines the controversial and fringe theory that human beings evolved from a bunch of knuckle-dragging monkeys.

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Explore how seemingly strong structures fall apart. Guest lecturer: Senator John McCain.

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From forty years in the desert, to the Diaspora, to Joe Lieberman's journey across the political spectrum.

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SENIOR SEMINAR: SO YOU WANT TO BE PRESIDENT
Join fellow graduating seniors in exploring your most likely future career. Enrollment limited to 1,200. Prerequisite: GPA of 1.0 or above/membership in Skull & Bones.

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FILM 300: BIG DOCUMENTARIANS
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POLITICAL SCIENCE 207: TOTALITARIANISM
Visiting Professor Giuliani teaches the lessons of his mayoralty from a firsthand perspective.

TULANE UNIVERSITY, LOUISIANA

URBAN PLANNING 340: THE ROLE OF FEMA TRAILERS IN URBAN RECONSTRUCTION
No experience, no problem. Even if you are just auditing, you'll get a ward to call your own. Class grading is Pass/Heck of a Job.

Jeff Nussbaum is a principal in the speechwriting and strategy firm West Wing Writers. **Eric Schnure** is a freelance speechwriter and an adjunct professor at American University. **Dan Goor** is an Emmy Award–winning writer for *Late Night With Conan O'Brien*. They write collectively as the **Humor Cabinet**, and can be reached at comments@humorcabinet.com.

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THE *Monthly* INTERVIEW

Scoop 08

It's long been conventional wisdom that young people just don't care about politics. Someone might want to tell that to Andrew Mangino, a junior at Yale, and Alexander Heffner, a high school senior at Andover. Earlier in the year, this enterprising pair founded the *Scoop 08*, a national online daily newspaper dedicated to covering the presidential campaign from a youth perspective. The site, which goes live in September, will employ hundreds of volunteer high school and college students to be the new boys and girls on the bus. Some will be assigned to write about candidates and issues; others will cover less conventional beats, like "rhetoric" or "democracy." The *Washington Monthly*'s Peter Laufer and Markos Kounalakis spoke with Mangino recently about what students care about, why they don't pay attention to the mainstream media, and whether or not the *Scoop 08* will make Bill O'Reilly lose his mind.

WM: I understand you are a junior at Yale.
AM: That's right.

WM: And you are also a political reporter at the *Yale Daily News*. What exactly is it that you are doing with this site?
AM: We hope the *Scoop 08* is going to be the first real national daily student newspaper in history. The timing is totally right, the technology is there, and with the election, the interest is there. For the first time students all across the country are really excited about this.

WM: So how are you, as a junior at Yale, going to be the coeditor of this project and not come out with grades worse than George W. Bush?
AM: Over the past month or so, more than 300 student journalists and non-journalists have become really excited about this and signed up.

WM: What are the logistics? How is this going to work?
AM: We have an editorial board of twenty-five or so students from high schools and colleges across the country. Each of them is in charge of a little pod of about five to ten reporters. They direct their content, mentor them, and it works out to be not so unmanageable. You have about one story a day that each editor is working on, and then there's a blog aspect, too, in which you can post quick articles of fifty to 500 words. But the emphasis is on each reporter writing only two stories per month. The stories are edited, and then they go to the managing editor and copy editors—there is a whole slew of people who are helping at that level—and it ultimately is posted on the Web site around midnight or shortly thereafter. We are going to create this nonprofit status so that hopefully we can accept donations from people who are interested in our vision. The revenue that we get will be reinvested in two things—the Web site, and allowing some of the reporters to travel and meet some of the candidates and be a part of the press corps just as an adult reporter would be.

WM: We have daily newspapers at schools around the country which cover national affairs, with an appropriate local focus. Why do we need this site?
AM: Well, this offers a really unique perspective. For example, we have a Palestinian high school student in the Deep South. I can't wait to see what she ends up writing when she covers Sam Brownback, for instance. And as volunteer students who don't need to be paid, we can cover candidates and issues that are unfortunately overlooked sometimes in the *USA Todays* of the country. For example, candidates like Sam Brownback rarely get on the front page even though they are fascinating people. Same with Duncan Hunter, the Prohibition Party, things like that.

WM: Do you think that perhaps you and a handful are in the minority in terms of your interest in politics compared with your average student? Are you going to have any readers?
AM: That's actually the real reason we're doing this. I've talked to so many students all across the country, and there is this sense that the people who are giving them the news in the *New York Times* or on television are not thinking about them. That's just the truth. I mean, I love the *New York Times*. But our approach is that readers are as much a part of the equation as the reporters. We'll cover even the most obscure things, and we don't have an agenda. Combined with the fact that students are writing it, I think this will be a way to energize people and make them feel informed. That's the reason that students don't always participate—because they don't feel like they are part of the process, and they don't have a reason to, either.

WM: How would you describe the interest in the 2008 campaign among students right now?
AM: I have to deal with this every day as a politics reporter on the *Yale Daily News*, and the interest is really high. You've got to attribute a lot of it to Obama. At our campus, for example, the Students for Obama group started up, and within a week it had 500 members. That's unprecedented at Yale, where, be-

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lieve it or not, people just aren't that into the whole campaign thing. And the Republicans followed. There're people already looking into starting groups for Giuliani. There's such a change from the last two elections in terms of the personalities of the people who are running. You really feel that a good number of the candidates, Democrats and Republicans, are really in tune with what is going on in the world. They understand that there is this change going on, and students really appreciate that.

WM: What issues are important to students now?

AM: Well, that's the tough part. The war in Iraq is not that important. Students are really into health care, the environment ...

WM: Why isn't war piquing the interest of students?

AM: It's just so disconnected. There is no real feeling that it matters at all. I don't even know what the feeling is in Washington among the media and adults. Among students, the feeling is that this just doesn't affect us.

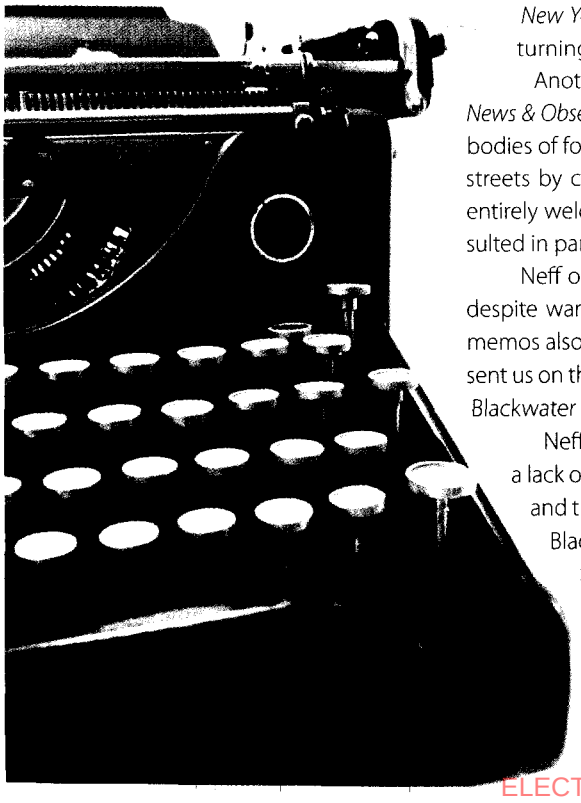
WM: Students are more likely to be Democrats than Republicans. Is the *Scoop 08* going to be something that will make Bill O'Reilly go crazy?

AM: No, because on the editorial board the ratio of Democrats to Republicans is one to one. And then 60 percent of the editorial board is moderate or cannot fit into a box. They have views that go all over the place, because I don't think that's what our generation is about anymore. I think we are a generation that doesn't fit into that ideological model of left and right at all. WM

Markos Kounalakis, the president of the *Washington Monthly*, and author **Peter Laufer**, the magazine's broadcast editor, host the weekly program *Washington Monthly on the Radio*, from which this interview was excerpted. The show can be heard on our flagship station, Progressive Talk 1260 AM, in Washington, D.C. For a list of other stations or to listen online, visit www.washingtonmonthly.com.

THE *Monthly* JOURNALISM AWARD

"Blackwater Manager Blamed for 2004 Fallujah Massacre"
By Joseph Neff, *Raleigh News & Observer*, July 8, 2007



As President Bush's surge stretches the U.S. military ever thinner, the media has trained its eye on the private contractors who are filling the manpower gap in Iraq. In early July, the *Los Angeles Times* reported that private contractors now outnumber U.S. military forces. Days later, the *New York Times* investigated the high incidence of post-traumatic stress disorder among returning contractors.

Another valuable contribution to this important story is Joseph Neff's report in the *Raleigh News & Observer* detailing the events surrounding the Fallujah massacre in 2004. The images of the bodies of four murdered and mutilated Blackwater USA security officers being dragged through the streets by chanting crowds were a resounding confirmation that the American presence was not entirely welcome in Iraq. Overlooked at the time, however, was the extent to which these deaths resulted in part from Blackwater practices.

Neff obtained internal Blackwater memos showing that the team of four had been deployed despite warning supervisors that they were undermanned, underarmed, and sleep deprived. The memos also suggest that such practices were not an anomaly: "[Baghdad manager Tom Powell] had sent us on this [expletive] mission and over our protest," wrote Daniel Browne, a member of a different Blackwater team that ignored company orders to drive through the heart of Fallujah.

Neff emphasizes a disturbing consequence of the U.S.'s increasing reliance on private soldiers: a lack of accountability. An erring Army officer faces both public scrutiny, which can force reform, and the military justice system, which can punish offenders and deter others from malfeasance. Blackwater, on the other hand, has refused to release any information regarding the four Fallujah deaths. When the estates of the four men sued for the release of documents, Blackwater countersued for $10 million and got the trial moved into secret arbitration. So far, Blackwater remains accountable only to its bottom line. WM

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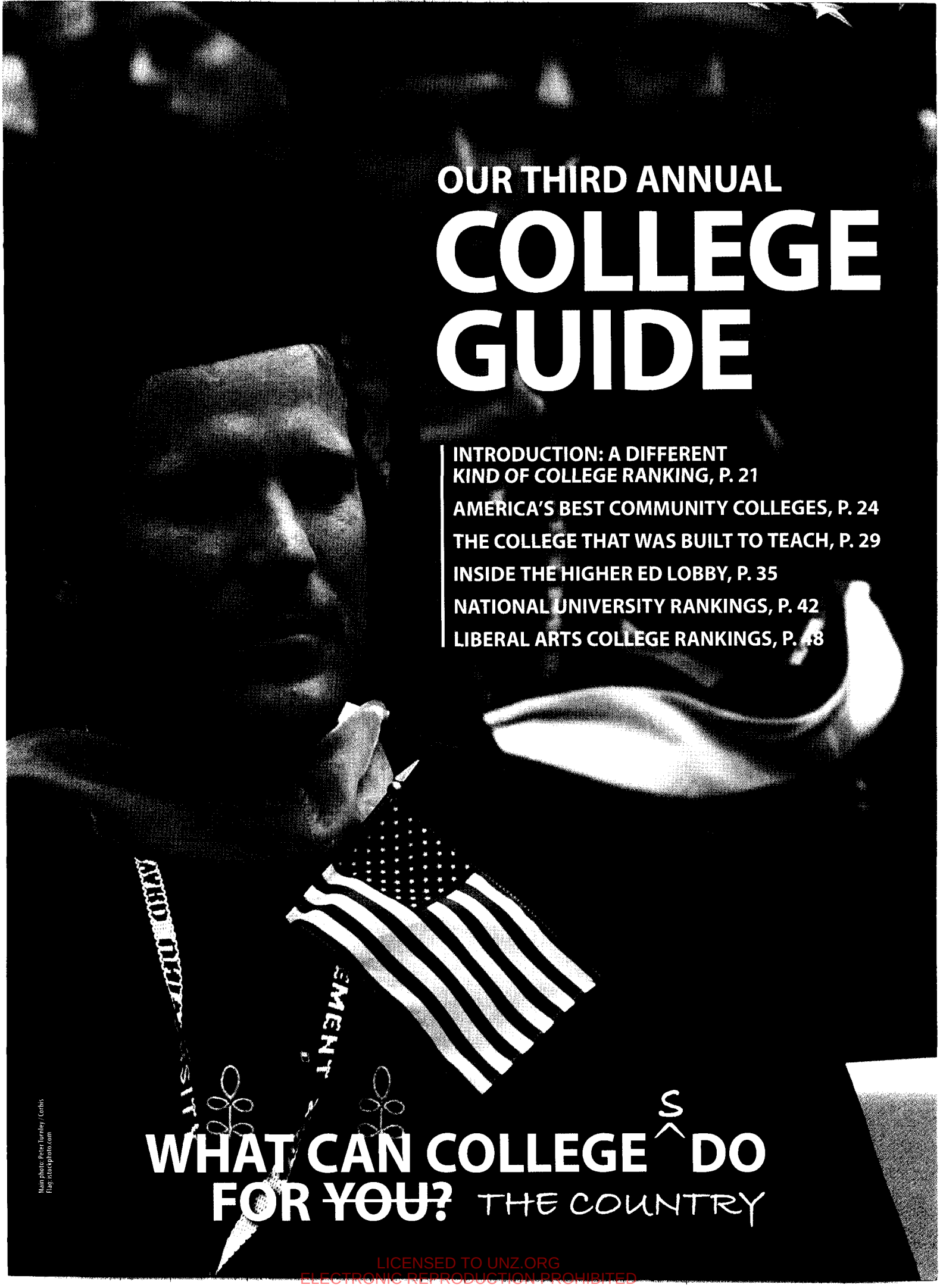

OUR THIRD ANNUAL

COLLEGE GUIDE

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WHAT CAN COLLEGES DO FOR ~~YOU?~~ THE COUNTRY

Main photo: Peter Turnley / Corbis
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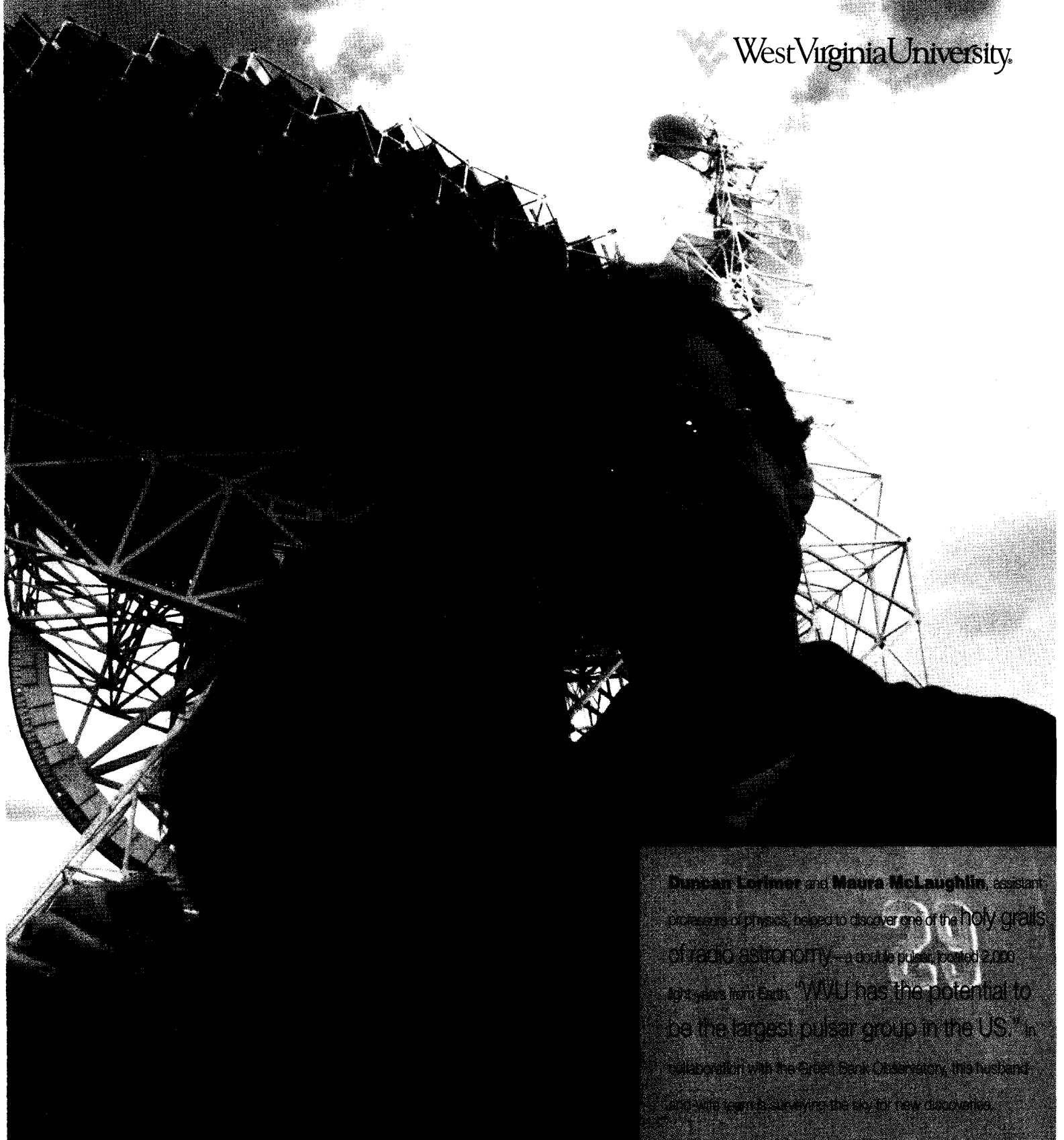

Duncan Lorimer and **Maura McLaughlin**, assistant professors of physics, helped to discover one of the holy grails of radio astronomy—a double pulsar, located 2,000 light-years from Earth. "WVU has the potential to be the largest pulsar group in the US." In collaboration with the Green Bank Observatory, this husband and wife team is surveying the sky for new discoveries.

West Virginia University

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To learn more about the WVU Physics Department, visit http://wvuminute.wvu.edu/Archive/?id=99

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Introduction: A Different Kind of College Ranking

By the Editors

This summer, a group of sixty-one liberal arts college presidents announced that they would no longer participate in the annual *U.S. News & World Report* college rankings. We were of two minds about this news.

On the one hand, we've long argued that the *U.S. News* ratings are silly, because they don't measure what its editors say they measure: academic excellence. What *U.S. News* does to arrive at its results involves gauging things like average faculty salaries, for instance, or the level of praise for one college from the presidents of other colleges. Maybe that's not totally useless, but it's also a bit like assessing the quality of restaurants based on the effectiveness of their advertising and how much they spend on linen. Given the tremendous influence the *U.S. News* guide nevertheless has on university administrators and prospective students, our first instinct was to cheer the college presidents' Spartacus-like rebellion.

On the other hand, we couldn't help but suspect that what motivated the colleges wasn't just anger at the inadequacies of the *U.S. News* methodology, but a desire to avoid rankings altogether. Though the protesting schools vowed to create their own, better measures of academic excellence, we weren't too surprised to see the group's chair, Gettysburg College President Katherine Haley Will, claim in the *Washington Post* that an "educational experience can't be reduced to one number, a school's so-called rank." Instead, she argued, "we must encourage students to look inside their hearts and trust their instincts when it comes to choosing a college."

How beautiful. Trusting in the oracular powers of the heart may have been the right advice for Obi-wan Kenobi to offer Luke Skywalker as the young Jedi-to-be swung a light saber while blindfolded. But it's understandable that students and parents who are about to plunk down tens of thousands of dollars in tuition for a life-determining college education might be looking for more solid information. Some colleges and universities simply do a better job of educating students than others, and rankings are the most broadly understandable way to convey that truth. *U.S. News*'s numbers may be deeply flawed, but its aim is perfectly worthy—indeed, it's essential.

But even if *U.S. News* were able to discern the academically "best" schools, that would be only one kind of ranking. There are other, equally important ways to judge colleges. We believe that what colleges do matters not just to prospective applicants, but also to the rest of us. After all, America depends on its institutions of higher education for a variety of crucial public tasks: conducting the cutting-edge research that drives the economy; offering students from low-income families a path to a better life; and positively shaping the characters of the young people who will go on to lead the country. Government provides colleges and universities with billions of dollars in research grants, tax benefits, and student financial aid to achieve these goals. If parents and teachers deserve to know how well colleges are spending their tuition dollars, shouldn't average citizens also have a way of finding out how well schools are spending their tax dollars?

That's what the *Washington Monthly* College Rankings are meant to provide: a guide not just to what colleges can do for you, but what colleges are doing for the country. For the third year in a row, we've sifted through reams of publicly available data to come up with what we think is a fair assessment of which colleges are living up to their public interest mission, and which aren't. (The full rankings begin on page 42.)

We use three criteria that we believe best measure the impact schools have on the country. The first is social mobility:

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TOP 30
NATIONAL UNIVERSITIES

		RANK IN *U.S. NEWS* (2007)
1.	**TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY**	**60**
2.	University of California, Los Angeles	26
3.	University of California, Berkeley	21
4.	University of California, San Diego	38
5.	Penn. State University, University Park	47
6.	University of Michigan, Ann Arbor	24
7.	Cornell University	12
8.	University of California, Davis	47
9.	Stanford University	4
10.	South Carolina State University	*
11.	Univ. of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign	41
12.	Ohio State University, Columbus	57
13.	Massachusetts Institute of Technology	4
14.	University of Washington	42
15.	University of California, Riverside	88
16.	University of Virginia	24
17.	University of Pennsylvania	7
18.	University of Wisconsin, Madison	34
19.	University of Texas, Austin	47
20.	Univ. of North Carolina, Chapel Hill	27
21.	Iowa State University	81
22.	University of Notre Dame	20
23.	College of William and Mary	31
24.	University of Southern California	27
25.	University of Arizona	98
26.	University of Florida	47
27.	Harvard University	2
28.	Georgetown University	23
29.	Duke University	8
30.	Johns Hopkins University	16

does the school do a good job recruiting and graduating poorer students? The second is research: is the school supporting the scientific and humanistic study that is key to our national strength, by producing PhDs and winning research grants? And the third is service: how effectively does the school foster an ethic of giving back to the country, either through military or civilian service? (For further details, see "A Note on Methodology," page 53.)

The results, summarized in the charts on pages 42 and 48, may surprise you. First and foremost, you'll notice that the elite schools don't perform nearly as well on the *Washington Monthly*'s rankings as they customarily do on *U.S. News*'s. Indeed, among last year's *U.S. News* top ten, only Stanford cracks *our* top ten. There are also some unexpected stars.

Here are a few of this year's other noteworthy findings:

RIPPING DOWN THE IVY

Harvard, Yale, and Princeton may make up the top three finishers on this year's *U.S. News* list, but by our measures they don't perform nearly as well. The alma maters of John F. Kennedy, George W. Bush, and Brooke C. Shields come in at, respectively, twenty-seventh, thirty-eighth, and (yikes!) seventy-eighth place. Our top Ivy? Humble Cornell, which places seventh, thanks to the large numbers of its graduates who earn PhDs or join the Peace Corps.

One reason the Ivies as a group fare poorly in our rankings is their abysmal record of taking on and graduating poorer students. Harvard and Yale particularly struggle here, while Cornell's eightieth-place finish in that measure is good enough to lead the Ancient Eight. But there's another factor at work for some: all of the Ivies except Cornell, Princeton, and the University of Pennsylvania refuse to allow ROTC facilities on campus, which cuts into their service scores. They say excluding ROTC is a matter of principle. We have different principles.

STATE OF GRACE

In the weird calculations of *U.S. News*, no public universities rank in the nation's top twenty. This would be highly suspicious under any fair measure of academic quality, but when gauging a school's contribution to the country, as we do, it makes no sense at all. And indeed, state schools perform very well on our list, especially the University of California system, which takes four of our top ten spots. Meanwhile, some state schools that were also-rans on the *U.S. News* list are leaders on ours. South Carolina State, which falls into their unranked fourth tier (encompassing the bottom 25 percent), finishes tenth here, thanks to the large numbers of low-income students it accepts and graduates as well as the school's record of supporting ROTC.

A FAIR AND BALANCED COLLEGE GUIDE

Speaking of state schools, the surprise number one this year—up from fifth in 2006—is Texas A&M. It earns the top spot thanks to an impressive level of ROTC enrollment and a generous amount of federal work-study funds devoted to community service.

Conservatives might see the ascent of the Aggies—better known for football, crew cuts, and the proposed George W. Bush Presidential Library—as a triumph of red-state values. But that's a hard case to make considering the bastions of liberalism that are hot on Texas A&M's heels. UCLA comes in at number two, followed closely by UC Berkeley. UCLA does a great job of accepting and graduating students of modest means, while Berkeley excels at service, and both schools boast a profusion of science and engineering degrees. Educators and members of Congress like to say that there's no

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Republican or Democratic way to teach a student. We say the same goes for creating universities that serve the country.

WE STILL LOVE THE LADIES

In 2006, women's colleges took the top two spots on our liberal arts college list. This year, the fairer sex again posts an impressive showing, capturing two of the top ten and four of the top twenty-five places. They're led by second-place Smith College and the historically black Spelman College at ten (sixty-four spots above its *U.S. News* ranking). Hillary Clinton's alma mater, Wellesley College, places twenty-first, with Mount Holyoke a spot behind. For all-male colleges, only Morehouse puts in a respectable showing, at twentieth place; two others, by contrast, Wabash College and Hampden-Sydney College, place at 171st and 184th respectively. Draw your own conclusions.

AND THE WINNER OF OUR MISPLACED PRIORITIES AWARD GOES TO . . .

... the California Institute of Technology, which weighs in at 141st on our list, 137 spots off their *U.S. News* rankings. We don't doubt that Caltech students can trip-wire a trapdoor so that a pumpkin frozen in liquid nitrogen will float suspended in midair before disintegrating in front of our very eyes. But the school's record of accepting and graduating low-income students and its ROTC rank are both so low that even its high research score can't save it.

Dishonorable mention goes to Rice University. The best little university in Texas has steadily climbed up the *U.S. News* rankings, all the way to seventeenth, by spending its resources on pursuing students with high SAT scores. But it comes in at 103rd on our rankings, thanks to its extremely low social mobility and service scores. Rice, it appears, is in it for Rice.

If you're looking, then, for information on which schools are the most selective, or which have the nicest swimming pools, the *Washington Monthly* College Rankings aren't for you. But we hope they will be of some use—to students of modest means looking for colleges that will help them succeed; to alumni wanting to get a sense of their alma maters' commitment to the public interest; or to elected officials trying to think of ways to get more bang for the public bucks they're charged with spending on higher education.

We also hope our rankings prove useful to the men and women who teach in and run America's colleges and universities. Many of these folks got into academia for idealistic reasons, and deeply resent the degree to which their institutions have sold their souls in order to move up the *U.S. News* rankings—as Rice has done by ignoring poorer students in favor of those with high SAT scores.

We share their frustration. But rather than dismiss the whole idea of rankings, we invite academics to embrace *our* rankings. Seriously. If the *Washington Monthly* College Rankings were to become as influential as those of *U.S. News* (hey, it could happen), the whole screwy incentive structure of higher education would change. Schools would no longer have to obsess over SAT scores or jack up the number of applications they ding in order to be recognized as great. Instead, to boost their scores on our list, they would have to recruit and graduate more low-income kids, train more scientists and engineers, and encourage more of their students to serve their country. The end result would be healthier, happier, prouder college campuses, and a more democratic, equitable, and prosperous America. Those are goals we can all rank highly. WM

TOP 30 LIBERAL ARTS COLLEGES

		RANK IN *U.S. NEWS* (2007)
1.	**PRESBYTERIAN COLLEGE**	*
2.	Smith College	19
3.	Wheaton College	61
4.	Wesleyan University	10
5.	Virginia Military Institute	86
6.	Claremont McKenna College	12
7.	Bucknell University	29
8.	Williams College	1
9.	Amherst College	2
10.	Spelman College	74
11.	Vassar College	12
12.	St. Olaf College	55
13.	Oberlin College	22
14.	Furman University	41
15.	Westminster College	*
16.	Siena College	*
17.	Seton Hill University	*
18.	St. John's University	69
19.	Colgate University	16
20.	Morehouse College	*
21.	Wellesley College	4
22.	Mount Holyoke College	24
23.	Whitman College	36
24.	Washington and Lee University	17
25.	Bates College	23
26.	Haverford College	9
27.	College of the Holy Cross	32
28.	Hobart and William Smith Colleges	67
29.	Swarthmore College	3
30.	Bryn Mawr College	20

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America's Best Community Colleges

Why they're better than some of the "best" four-year universities

By Kevin Carey

In the higher education family, community colleges are typically regarded as the poor cousins. Big college guides like *U.S. News & World Report* and the *Princeton Review* devote few, if any, of their glossy pages to community colleges, while reporters and pundits for elite publications have little to say about them as well.

Part of this is pure snobbery. Many of those who create and cover the mainstream college guides attended prestigious four-year schools—which helps to explain the annual preoccupation with whether Harvard or Princeton made the top of the list.

Part of it is also economics. The commercial guides don't have a market incentive to delve into the differences between hundreds of community colleges, because most students don't shop for a community college—they simply attend the one nearest their home. Similarly, there's not a lot of demand for articles about how best to play the applications game for such schools, because nearly any high school graduate can get into one.

Still, while there may not be a profit motive to scrutinize community colleges closely, there are several profound public reasons to do so. For one, community colleges now represent a huge slice of the higher education pie: 43 percent of college freshmen begin their education at two-year institutions.

Secondly, community colleges have taken on the toughest job in higher education: teaching lower-income students. In 1980, just 38 percent of recipients of a Pell Grant (the main federal need-based financial aid program) attended community colleges or other non-four-year institutions. By 2004, that percentage had leapt to 54 percent.

Thirdly, for a student of modest means hobbled by an inadequate high school education, or with a family to care for and a job to keep, the difference between good teaching and bad teaching can mean almost everything. Research shows that the brightest kids succeed regardless of whether they're taught poorly or well (one reason that many elite four-year schools succeed by doing little more than staying out of their students' way). Students with the lowest levels of academic preparation, however, are most sensitive to the quality of the learning environment. Unfortunately, the learning environment at these colleges is far from the best it could be. Only 18 percent of community college freshmen earn a degree or certificate within three years.

The fourth reason to keep a close eye on community colleges is that our economic future depends on how well they serve their students. Twenty years ago, community colleges were places for less academically inclined students to gain the credentials they needed for a decent job, or for workers driven out of manufacturing positions to retrain for emerging sectors like IT. Today, many of those sectors are experiencing brutal competition from abroad. For these workers to get ahead, and to be useful to American companies, merely training them in new

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skills is no longer enough. They need to be able to learn continuously, to think critically, to adapt to a changing economy. In other words, we now need community colleges to impart the same kinds of sophisticated learning and thinking skills that have traditionally been the province of four-year colleges.

The final reason that it makes sense to rate community colleges is that it's possible to do so honestly. Guides to four-year schools like the one published by *U.S. News* rely on measures that are only glancingly related to actual learning, such as the percentage of alumni who donate money or the reputation a school has among administrators of other colleges. In part, *U.S. News* relies on such dubious criteria because four-year institutions refuse to release data on the quality of teaching at their schools.

Community colleges aren't so squeamish. They allow the publication of the results of a survey called the Community College Survey of Student Engagement, or CCSSE (available at www.ccsse.org). The survey tests colleges on how well they use teaching techniques that have been proven to lead to better learning, such as how often students collaborate with other students and interact with faculty. (See "Measuring What Matters," page 28.)

We've combined this groundbreaking analysis with data on graduation rates to compile the first-ever list of the thirty best community colleges in America (see below).

THE TOP 30 COMMUNITY COLLEGES

	STATE	ENROLLMENT	TUITION & FEES	ACTIVE & COLLABORATIVE LEARNING	STUDENT EFFORT	ACADEMIC CHALLENGE	STUDENT-FACULTY INTERACTION	SUPPORT FOR LEARNERS	GRAD RATE
1. Atlanta Technical College	GA	2202	$1362	62.5	59.1	56.6	57.6	63.0	35
2. Cascadia Community College	WA	1302	$2642	68.6	54.4	56.3	58.1	51.8	34
3. Southern University at Shreveport	LA	1921	$2252	67.4	59.6	59.3	59.0	62.6	17
4. Southwestern Community College	NC	1207	$1171	57.2	55.0	53.6	58.3	57.3	45
5. Hazard Community and Technical College	KY	2523	$2616	57.4	57.2	61.1	62.3	57.4	21
6. North Florida Community College	FL	806	$1910	52.8	51.5	53.4	58.5	60.9	44
7. Wisconsin Indianhead Technical College	WI	2223	$2912	58.6	52.0	49.8	55.4	49.2	54
8. Southeast Kentucky Comm. & Tech. College	KY	2719	$2760	55.9	55.2	54.6	58.3	61.2	28
9. Zane State College	OH	1375	$3849	57.0	54.3	54.4	55.2	58.0	31
10. Abraham Baldwin Agricultural College	GA	2635	$2098	52.7	56.8	56.8	61.7	59.8	25
11. Texas State Technical College-Marshall	TX	394	$3930	57.1	51.1	52.8	64.7	57.3	25
12. Lake City Community College	FL	1649	$2979	53.0	51.9	50.7	54.4	56.6	45
13. Itasca Community College	MN	981	$4590	57.5	53.9	50.6	51.7	53.7	38
14. South Piedmont Community College	NC	1111	$1319	57.6	52.1	51.1	54.6	54.4	33
15. Vermilion Community College	MN	612	$4366	62	53.8	51.8	57.6	47.2	24
16. Hawaii Community College	HI	1519	$1478	59.9	53.8	56.0	55.3	51.9	21
17. Ellsworth Community College	IA	675	$3108	54.7	51.0	46.6	54.4	52.9	44
18. Chipola College	FL	1516	$2137	50.0	51.6	54.0	52.0	52.0	52
19. Martin Community College	NC	619	$1302	56.3	53.8	52.7	59.0	53.4	24
20. Texas State Technical College-West Texas	TX	1125	$3105	55.6	51.1	49.4	52.1	56.6	35
21. South Texas College	TX	10249	$1996	59.5	57.0	55.4	53.7	60.7	10
22. Skagit Valley College	WA	3446	$2712	57.7	53.9	53.4	52.5	50.3	27
23. Valencia Community College	FL	17795	$2091	53.2	52.3	54.0	53.1	49.8	36
24. MiraCosta College	CA	5574	$590	56.4	52.6	52.2	54.4	51.6	29
25. Florida Community College at Jacksonville	FL	12685	$1714	57.8	51.9	49.9	52.9	50.1	32
26. New Hampshire Comm. and Tech. College	NH	1137	$5464	51.9	54.2	55.1	53.7	54	31
27. Frank Phillips College	TX	825	$2766	52.9	49.6	47.8	56.1	58	35
28. Mesabi Range Comm. and Tech. College	MN	1044	$4174	52.7	48.2	51	49.4	52.9	42
29. Northwest Vista College	TX	5243	$2292	63.5	54.7	50.9	56.1	52.8	10
30. New Mexico State University-Grants	NM	397	$1320	58.2	58.1	54.2	54.6	54.5	13

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Our list busts many widely held myths about what community colleges are capable of and the inherent superiority of four-year schools. Here are some highlights:

STANDARDS & POOR

Conventional wisdom assumes that if you hold schools with low-income students to high standards, graduation rates will plummet. In fact, our list indicates that the opposite may be the case. CCSSE research has found that the level of academic challenge is positively linked with graduation rates. Indeed, the average graduation rate of colleges on our list is almost 50 percent higher than the national average for community colleges. Undergraduates who are taught well are more likely to succeed and ultimately complete their degree, meaning that the more colleges ask from their students, the more they get back. This suggests that many students aren't dropping out because colleges are keeping their standards appropriately high—they're dropping out because the standards are inappropriately low.

WHITEBOARD JUNGLE

Too often, administrators at community colleges hide behind the myth that it's unfair to expect much of schools that serve traditionally disadvantaged populations. Our results beg to differ. College number five, Kentucky's Hazard Community and Technical College—where 96 percent of students receive some form of need-based financial aid—tops hundreds of two- and four-year institutions in the measure of student-faculty interaction. At South Texas College, number twenty-one on our list, 95 percent of its 16,000 students are Hispanic, many of whom are first- and second-generation immigrants. (In fact, South Texas enrolls almost four times as many Hispanic undergraduates as the entire Ivy League.) South Texas scores particularly high on the "student effort" benchmark. Its students are more likely than most to prepare multiple drafts of assignments before turning them in, and to work on projects that require integrating information and ideas from various sources.

DON'T FOLLOW THE MONEY

Yet another prevalent myth in the world of higher education is that the more you spend, the better education you get. Indeed, *U.S. News* makes per-student funding the third-biggest factor in its rankings. But average per-student spending at the institutions on our list is virtually the same as spending at the typical community college, and tuition is actually lower than the average at other such schools. Needless to say, every college on our list spends a fraction of what a typical four-year college does. That doesn't mean community colleges couldn't use more money. But it's clear that the most expensive schools aren't necessarily those that teach students best. Exhibit A: Our number one school, Georgia's Atlanta Technical College, is an urban college attended predominantly by African Americans. Most of its students study part-time while working and tend to focus on work-oriented credentials in health care, construction, and mechanics. CCSSE results indicate that Atlanta Technical gives students a great education despite spending 30 percent less per student than the average community college.

DEGREES OF SEPARATION

Pretty much everyone assumes that every four-year university, regardless of quality, rates above every community

TABLE 1

How often have you done the following (Never, Sometimes, Often, or Very Often)?	Percent who responded "Often" or "Very Often"		
	Top 30 community colleges	Average for community colleges	Average for freshmen at research-intensive doctoral universities
Asked questions in class or contributed to class discussions	67	64	50
Made a class presentation	36	28	21
Worked with other students on projects during class	54	45	39
Discussed ideas from your readings or classes with others outside of class (students, family members, coworkers, etc.)	52	49	54
Received prompt feedback (written or oral) from instructors on your performance	59	56	49
Worked harder than you thought you could to meet an instructor's standards or expectations	51	N/A	48
Discussed grades or assignments with an instructor	50	51	42
Discussed ideas from your readings or classes with instructors outside of class	19	18	16

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A Note on Methodology

Our methodology was designed to identify community colleges that excel in using teaching methods that researchers have linked to increased student achievement. We also wanted to identify colleges that are successful in helping students earn degrees. To that end, we relied on two sources: the Community College Survey of Student Engagement (CCSSE), and graduation rate statistics compiled by the U.S. Department of Education.

CCSSE administrators compile raw survey data into five composite benchmarks that gauge success in "Active and Collaborative Learning," "Student Effort," "Academic Challenge," "Student-Faculty Interaction," and "Support for Learners." The benchmark scores are standardized so that the average is fifty and one standard deviation (among individual student responses, not institutional averages) is twenty-five. All five benchmarks have been found to have a positive impact on student success. Some, however, were more strongly and consistently predictive than others. Accordingly, we gave more weight to the benchmarks with the strongest link to student learning and attainment—"Active and Collaborative Learning" received the strongest weight, followed by "Academic Challenge." Eighty-five percent of each college's rating is based on the unequally weighted benchmarks. Because many colleges don't administer the CCSSE every year, we combined results from the 2004, 2005, and 2006 survey years. If a college administered the survey more than once during that time, we used the most recent year.

The remaining 15 percent of the rating is based on federal graduation rates, which were also standardized so that no college's rate could exceed the average by more than two standard deviations. This measure tracks the percentage of students who earn a degree or credential within 150 percent of the expected time—three years for a two-year degree, for example. It understates the overall success of community colleges, since some students take longer than 150 percent of the expected time to graduate, while others transfer to four-year institutions without earning a community college degree. It also excludes part-time students. However, a recent study from the Community College Research Center, which is housed at the Columbia University Teachers College, found that while accounting for part-time students, extended time frames, and so on, substantially increases the *absolute* graduation rate for community colleges, it doesn't substantially change the position of institutions *relative to one another.*

This methodology is by no means definitive. Like all survey results, CCSSE measures have statistical margins of error. The list would be more accurate if it included factors not covered by the CCSSE, like how much student learning increases between enrollment and graduation at individual colleges, and how successful graduates are in the workforce and further education. But unlike the lists in the myriad guidebooks to four-year colleges that choke the shelves of newsstands and bookstores every year, this list is entirely based on measures with a research-proven link to student success—or, in the case of graduation rates, a measure of success itself.—*K.C.*

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MEASURING WHAT MATTERS

Irked by what they saw as flaws in *U.S. News*'s methodology for ranking colleges, a group of reformers in the late 1990s pioneered a new approach. With a grant from the Pew Charitable Trusts, a panel of educational experts set out to develop a way to quantify how well colleges actually *teach* their undergraduates. The result was the National Survey of Student Engagement (NSSE), launched in 2000 and now in use at more than 600 four-year colleges and universities. Decades of research have demonstrated that certain teaching methods—those that actively engage students in the classroom—lead to greater student learning. By surveying a sample of students at each participating institution, the NSSE measures the prevalence of research-proven best practices. To measure high expectations, for example, the NSSE asks about the number of papers written, books assigned, and hours spent preparing for class. To gauge the level of student collaboration, the survey asks students how often they work together in and out of the classroom. To assess student engagement, the NSSE asks how often students make class presentations, work on community-based projects, and apply theories or concepts to practical problems.

The NSSE's founders hoped that participating universities would make this data public, creating new incentives for institutions to burnish their reputations through better teaching. But most schools chose to keep their survey results hidden, fearing that a low score would hurt their standing in the public eye.

An offshoot directed at community colleges, however, took a different course. Launched in 2002, the Community College Survey of Student Engagement (CCSSE) polls a sample of students at participating institutions to evaluate the prevalence of research-proven best teaching practices; hundreds of colleges have since used the survey. Unlike their four-year counterparts, all of these schools have chosen to make their results public.

CCSSE measures "best practices," not learning outcomes. But a 2006 study, which compared students' responses to CCSSE questions with their GPAs (controlling for prior academic performance to isolate the importance of CCSSE factors), confirmed that these practices do in fact enhance student achievement. Survey questions used to measure "active and collaborative learning" showed the strongest relationship. In other words, the more students work together in and out of the classroom, the more they contribute to class discussions and participate in community-based projects, the greater their likelihood of getting good grades and earning a degree. These findings held true even after controlling for students' age, race, and gender.—*K.C.*

college. Yet the reality isn't so simple. We gathered the answers that students at the community colleges on our list gave to specific questions on the CCSSE survey. Then we compared the average results with the answers given to the same questions by students at research-intensive universities that participate in a similar study, the National Survey of Student Engagement (NSSE). Table 1 on page 26 shows the surprising results of that comparison: on a number of important measures, the colleges on our list outperform their four-year peers. More than two-thirds of the community college students ask questions in class or contribute to class discussions, compared to only half of the four-year students. Student-faculty interaction is also better—the community college students are more likely to get prompt feedback on performance and to interact with their professors during and outside of class. And the level of academic challenge is more than comparable—the community college students were more likely to work harder than they thought they could to meet their professor's expectations. The first concern of the research university is, unsurprisingly, research. Community colleges, by contrast, are far more focused on teaching, and some are doing it better than even the most esteemed four-year institutions. (For more on the distinctive approach to teaching employed at Cascadia Community College, number two on our list, see "Built to Teach," page 29.)

What, then, are the conclusions to be drawn from our list? For community colleges, the main one is this: No more excuses. It's just not very credible to blame subpar performance on funding levels or student demographics when schools like Hazard and Atlanta Technical are performing so well.

For four-year universities, the conclusion is even tougher: They ought to be ashamed of themselves. Despite all their advantages—lavish campuses, brilliant scholars, social networks that no community college can match—the quality of the teaching at four-year institutions is less rigorous and less helpful than that found at the community colleges on our list. This is a stunning indictment of the extent to which teaching at many of America's "best" universities has been neglected.

The biggest lesson to be drawn from our list, however, is a hopeful one: Great teaching can happen anywhere. And if America is to succeed in the future, it needs to happen *everywhere*. It won't, however, unless pressure is brought to bear on recalcitrant college administrators and faculty—pressure from the politicians who write the rules and the students and parents who write the tuition checks. Consider our best community colleges guide a modest bid to generate that pressure. WM

Kevin Carey is the research and policy manager at Education Sector, an independent, nonpartisan think tank.

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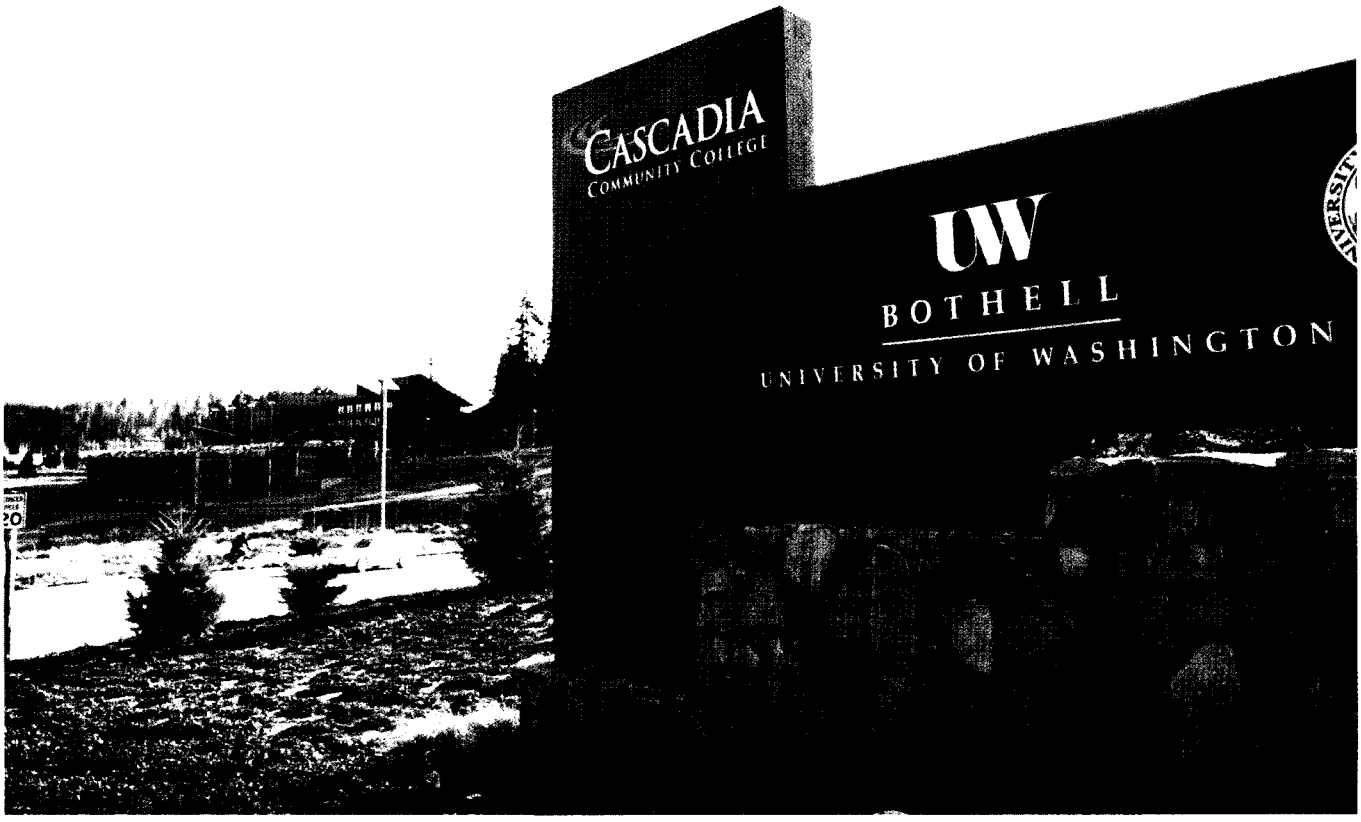

Associated Press / Elaine Thompson

Built to Teach

What your alma mater could learn from Cascadia Community College

By Kevin Carey

In most ways, Hayley Bates is a typical American college student. She goes to a public school in the suburbs of Seattle, working part-time in a movie theater to pay tuition. Her ambitions are strong but still unfocused—she thinks she wants to run an organization helping students with disabilities someday, but she's not sure how to get from here to there. Her older brother is a college dropout, and she's determined not to make the same mistake. College is fun on some days; on others, it's a grind.

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Most students can't judge how well their college is teaching them because they have no direct point of comparison. In this regard, Hayley's perspective is unusual. To fulfill her wide-ranging course requirements, she is enrolled simultaneously at two institutions of higher education. At one, a branch campus of the well-regarded University of Washington, her experiences would be familiar to most college graduates. She sits in the back of the classroom listening to lectures from professors who devote much of their time to publishing enough research to win tenure. The courses are straightforward and not that difficult—"lenient," she says. Because her professor puts all his lecture notes online, "you don't always even have to go to class."

At the other college, however, things are ... different. "Harder." First of all, her professor never seems to explain anything. Instead, he's constantly posing questions that seem deliberately vague, then he "tells you to go find the materials and figure out the answer for yourself." She can't skip class, even if it's been a long day selling popcorn, because she's part of a group of students who are all doing hands-on research and wrestling with tricky questions together; she doesn't want to let them down. She feels like she's learning a lot, sure, but she didn't realize college would be so much work.

The most surprising thing is that Hayley's other college isn't some kind of elite school that only accepts the smart students who can handle such a tough workload. It's a two-year institution that hardly anyone outside of Seattle has ever heard of: Cascadia Community College.

Aside from a few pockets of innovation, two decades of research about how students learn has had almost no effect on how universities teach.

That a two-year college could be more academically rigorous than a four-year university—one that's a "first tier" national university, according to *U.S. News & World Report*—would seem unlikely. It's long been an article of faith in higher education that any four-year university is better than any two-year college. Yet Hayley's experience of the comparative advantage of Cascadia (which is located next to the University of Washington) is borne out by hard data. Although its enrollees typically have less promising academic backgrounds than UW freshman, Cascadia graduates who then continue at UW earn better grades than their peers. It's hard to imagine a clearer indication that the education students receive at Cascadia is superior.

Indeed, other measures of teaching quality suggest that Cascadia is the best community college in America. Using data from a well-respected survey of educational best practices, the Community College Survey of Student Engagement, the *Washington Monthly* has created the first-ever list of the nation's top two-year colleges. (See "America's Best Community Colleges," page 24.) Cascadia places number two overall, and in those measures most closely correlated with high grades and graduation rates—the extent to which teaching is "active and collaborative"—Cascadia tops the list.

Cascadia's success is extraordinary. But the difference doesn't depend on funding: the money spent per pupil at Cascadia is typical among community colleges, and about half that spent at the University of Washington. Nor is the college's achievement the result of some secret formula not known to other educators. Not explaining things and making students work in teams to discover answers turn out to be precisely the kinds of teaching practices that decades of research say help students learn most. Yet the vast majority of four-year colleges and universities don't teach their undergraduates this way. Instead, they rely far too often on the same old teaching methods nobody thinks are any good.

Most four-year schools teach poorly for a simple reason: they were designed with another purpose in mind. America's dominant model for higher education was developed in the late nineteenth century, when the nation's student population was very different than today. Institutions like Germany's renowned Humboldt University were the inspiration: academies where highly trained scholars focused primarily on original research. Students, it was assumed, would benefit from close contact with learned masters who would impart the information they discovered in the form of lectures. The spirit of the age was summed up in the single word dominating the seal of Harvard: *Veritas*. Truth—the extension of knowledge through high-level research—was the order of the day. As a way of expanding the frontiers of human understanding, this proved a massive success. America's research universities became the envy of the world, gestating world-class minds and fueling economic growth.

But the twentieth century also brought a sea change: mass undergraduate education. High school became universal, preparing more students for college. The returning veterans who flooded college campuses on the GI Bill after World War II were followed by the baby boomers, along with minorities and women emancipated by civil rights and social change. As the economy evolved and high-paying blue-collar jobs disappeared, still more students sought college diplomas. To meet the tidal wave of new demand, states expanded their flagship universities to mammoth proportions—30,000, 40,000, 50,000 students or more—and built hundreds more public universities in a similar mold. The logic seemed impeccable: the lecture model of education was cheap and easy to bring to scale, and the universities could

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Time & Life Pictures / Getty Images

house the researchers needed to drive economic expansion and fight the cold war.

Unfortunately, there was a problem: the old model turned out to be a terrible way to teach most undergraduates. The standard lecture did little to engage students or push them to do the hard, hands-on work necessary to truly grasp college-level material. The doctoral programs that produced the nation's college professors offered little or no instruction on the theory or practice of teaching. Instead, they trained and tenured PhDs in narrow areas of scholarship, who were then hired and promoted based wholly on their research, not their aptitude in the classroom.

The sharpest observers realized the mistake in expanding a system ill-suited for its primary mission, educating undergraduates. In 1963, Clark Kerr, the legendary architect of the California higher education system, delivered a historic lecture series at Harvard where he warned of the "cruel paradox" that "a superior faculty results in an inferior concern for undergraduate teaching." As he later explained, the emphasis on research and the emphasis on teaching "were not as compatible as we first assumed ... the German Humboldt model assumed that teaching is always and in all ways improved by engagement with research. It is not." The upshot, as Kerr foresaw and others later came to realize, was that "educational policy for undergraduates was neglected."

About the same time that the great expansion of higher education leveled off in the 1970s, a new wave of researchers studied and defined teaching methods superior to what most undergraduates actually received. Among the most famous was a seminal 1987 paper by researchers Arthur Chickering and Zelda Gamson, "Seven Principles for Good Practice in Undergraduate Education." Synthesizing years of cognitive science and educational research, Chickering and Gamson mapped out the fundamental principles of effective teaching: The more students *actively* engage with subject matter, the better they master material and develop critical skills. Undergraduates learn most when they're asked to solve problems, perform original research, work collaboratively—and receive regular feedback from the professor and their peers. The passive, impersonal lecture turned out to be the worst of all possible worlds.

A good education is a lot of work. So it makes sense that, as the research also showed, students learn more when colleges set high expectations. Many professors focused on scholarship don't want to be accountable for the quality of their teaching, while many students focused on simply getting a credential—or on going to next weekend's keg party—don't want to work hard to earn a good grade. As a result, many college courses are both easy and badly taught, one reason a recent study from the American Institutes for Research found that only 38 percent of four-year college graduates can successfully compare and contrast the viewpoints of two newspaper editorials. It's also why employers increasingly bemoan the fact that college grads come to them unable to write a coherent memo or work effectively with other people.

Chickering and Gamson's principles soon became widely accepted in higher education circles. But the shocking thing

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is that aside from a few pockets of innovation in isolated university departments or less known institutions like Alverno College in Wisconsin, the truth about how students learn had almost no effect on how universities teach.

The traditional methods were kept alive for a number of reasons. First, the old lecture format served a purpose—freeing up time and money for faculty to spend pursuing scholarship and research, the primary goals of the university built on the nineteenth-century model. Second, for all their public liberalism, academics tend to be deeply conservative when it comes to the nature of their profession and the university itself. Lastly, there was little outside pressure—from students, parents, or politicians—pushing for universities to uproot old traditions and put in practice these proven principles about how students learn. Few things change without pressure, and most universities—secure in their position as the monopoly provider of increasingly valuable educational credentials—had no compelling reason to stop being what they had been for so long.

What allowed Cascadia to be different was that it was built from the ground up in a time and place when challenging convention and testing new ideas was in the air. In the mid-1990s, Washington's legislature decided to build the state's first new community college in more than three decades. They selected a site in suburban Seattle, less than fifteen miles from the campus of Microsoft. The first bricks were laid in 1998, during the heart of the dot-com boom.

Cascadia's founders, including the first president, Victoria Muñoz Richart, had spent years immersed in research on how students learn. Frustrated by the glacial pace of change at established schools, Richart saw in Cascadia a chance to start "from scratch" and "an opportunity to incorporate the best that research on students, curriculum design, and teaching and learning could offer." She was determined to translate educational theory into practice. Cascadia's strategic plan emphasizes four principles familiar to Chickering and Gamson: active learning, collaborative learning, critical thinking, and communication. The principles are seen as both superior ways of teaching and valuable skills to impart to students in their own right. (They're also so well known at the school that last year's commencement speaker organized the speech around them.) From the beginning, the chief criterion for decisions at Cascadia, ranging from hiring faculty to building infrastructure, was fidelity to this original mission.

Even before its doors opened, Cascadia was built to be different. Its classrooms were designed to seat students facing each other at tables rather than in rows of chairs facing the professor. The message was obvious: student engagement was in; one-way lectures were out. Walking through the hallways, as I did when I visited the campus this spring, another difference is clear. One comes first to what appears to be a lounge

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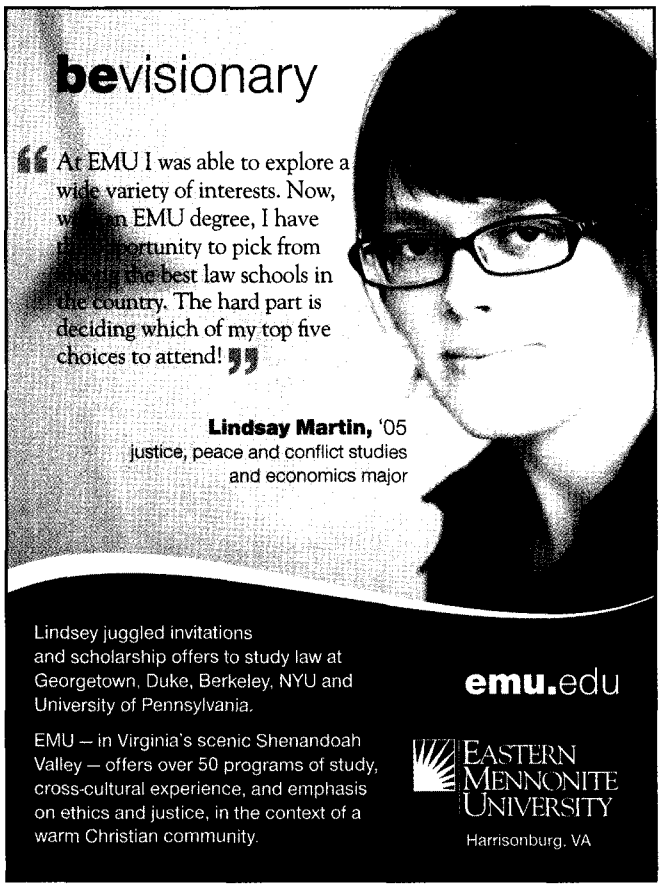
area, with comfortable chairs and glass windows, where students meet; a few feet later, there are a couple of classrooms; just beyond that, there's a bank of computers where students can look up articles during class. Rather than the traditional college setup, which segregates the classrooms in one building, administrative offices in another, and study lounges and coffee shops in a student union, Cascadia's design encourages students and faculty to move between these spaces. In practical terms, this allows professors the flexibility within each class to start a discussion in the classroom, ask students to research topics online for a half hour, then decamp to the lounge for discussion, all within a few yards' distance. This makes it easier to integrate group discussions, real-time research, and student presentations—all manifestations of the four principles in action—without losing someone on the trek to the computer lab. (It's no coincidence that this design bears a resemblance to many knowledge-industry offices.)

When hiring faculty, Cascadia has been selective in a way even the most exclusive four-year colleges are not. At most colleges, professors are hired and promoted based on their research, and given near carte blanche to teach as they please. Cascadia, however, recruits faculty with subject expertise who are also committed to and capable of good teaching. It then gives them the resources to improve. Once hired, new faculty work with veterans at the college's internal "teaching and learning academy." Part of the tenure track includes classroom observation and critiques. This might sound like more trouble for the teachers, but despite—or perhaps because of—its more rigorous standards, Cascadia has attracted a bevy of talented educators. Thirty-eight percent of Cascadia's full-time professors have PhDs, well above the national average for community colleges. It's true that at almost every college in America it's possible to find a few outstanding teachers, yet these professors are usually the exception, not the rule. At Cascadia, good teaching—the expectation and the resources to learn—is part of the design.

There aren't hard-and-fast rules at Cascadia prohibiting, say, long lectures. But the reason you hardly ever see professorial monologues is because the college has another enforcement mechanism: a shared educational culture. It has a set of norms and powerful common expectations that, unlike those that animate traditional colleges, value teaching and learning above all else. That culture is sustained in many ways. Rather than segregate faculty by academic discipline, Cascadia physically groups professors around the four principles. A math professor, for example, doesn't work in the math department; he works in the critical-thinking hallway, alongside professors who teach Spanish, accounting, communications, chemistry, biology, and English as a second language. Every spring the college holds a contest in which professors from different disciplines propose to coteach a multisubject course; teachers compete to be recognized for their innovative teaching ideas and collaborative efforts.

This results in novel approaches to subject matter that offer creative opportunities for student engagement. For instance, "Big Bangs and Little Green Men" is a combination of introductory classes in philosophy and astronomy. Students study scientific phenomena "as a way to explore what counts as a good reason for believing something to be true." Each week's class readings combine chapters from scientific textbooks on gravity, light, and planet formation with readings from the likes of Plato, Descartes, and Hume. The professors who coteach the course have found that abstract philosophical ideas are easier to grasp when they're presented in the context of real-world examples, while hard scientific facts are more resonant when they're applied to larger questions of meaning and truth. In another course, which combines English and psychology, students study brain anatomy and write autobiographical essays recounting an event from childhood that was witnessed by a family member or other person. Then the students interview the observer and study the discrepancies between the two accounts as a way of exploring psychological debates about constructed and repressed memories.

Most four-year schools teach poorly for a simple reason: they were designed with another purpose in mind.



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Professors work hard to keep students working hard. In one communications course, for instance, Professor David Ortiz assigned students to investigate the raging controversy over immigration reform by gathering information from two sources: academic journal articles available through electronic databases, and firsthand accounts from local minority-focused community publications like *Colors Northwest*. Students had to make sense of the hugely divergent facts and perspectives, present their conclusions back to the class, and defend their findings. As Ortiz explained his philosophy, "We don't just pour knowledge into the students' heads. I could easily set up a lecture where all the answers are embedded, but that's missing the point." The format requires more effort from the students—but as Hayley Bates, one of Ortiz's students, can attest, it isn't an option to just skip class.

As I drove out of the Cascadia campus, past a fifty-eight-acre restored wetlands area and stands of fifty-foot pine trees that surround the small clearing where the college will soon break ground on a new building, I tried to remember if I had experienced anything similar in my own undergraduate days, nearly twenty years ago. I realized I had—but never in a classroom. I learned most of what was, in retrospect, worth knowing by talking and arguing with other students, during the intense dialogues that come naturally to people who are still defining themselves, still learning how to learn. Cascadia has simply taken this reality of the human learning process and built a whole college around it. Rather than starting with what researchers happen to find interesting and lecturing—*professing*—those things to students, they started with the skills people need to succeed in the modern world. Rather than teach in the way that is easiest and most comfortable for teachers, they teach in the way that research says actually works best for students.

It's not often that a giant flaw in a vital public institution is known but almost completely ignored for decades on end. But that's exactly what's happened—Clark Kerr's words ring as true today as they did in 1963. Chickering and Gamson's seven principles were published twenty years ago, and now colleges like Cascadia offer proof positive that the ideas work in practice—not just in a class here or there, but college-wide. Yet poor teaching still abounds. As former Harvard President Derek Bok recently said, "Colleges and universities, for all the benefits they bring, accomplish far less for their students than they should." That institutions built to educate and discover the truth refuse to implement the successful teaching practices that they themselves have discovered is a bitter and consequential irony.

Fixing this won't be easy. New colleges and universities aren't built very often, and we can't just tear down the ones we have and replace them. There's no reason, moreover, to believe that our institutions of higher education will voluntarily change on their own.

But there is at least one proven way to make many college presidents stand up, take notice, and rapidly implement reforms: alter their reputation in the marketplace. The *U.S. News* college rankings may be terribly flawed, but they're undeniably influential. When the magazine began including alumni giving rates in the rankings equation, hundreds of call centers sprang up across the land to start bugging people at dinnertime for donations. If institutional reputations hung on measures of quality teaching, higher education leaders would finally have a strong reason to make the difficult choices they have for decades managed to avoid. Reliable measures of educational excellence for four-year schools do exist, but right now college administrators are the only ones who ever see them. Students and parents need information before they can exert pressure for reform, and Washington should mandate that we all have access to it.

This would be a boon for undergraduates, because the most important lesson Cascadia offers is this: The best colleges don't have to be reserved for the "best" students. Students don't need to claw their way into elite schools to get a great education—indeed, the very things that make colleges elite often make them, in Kerr's cruel paradox, bad at teaching. *Any* college—big or small, old or new, world-famous or hardly known—can give students the kind of top-flight education they need in a world that increasingly values learning above all else. WM

Kevin Carey is the research and policy manager at Education Sector, an independent, nonpartisan think tank.

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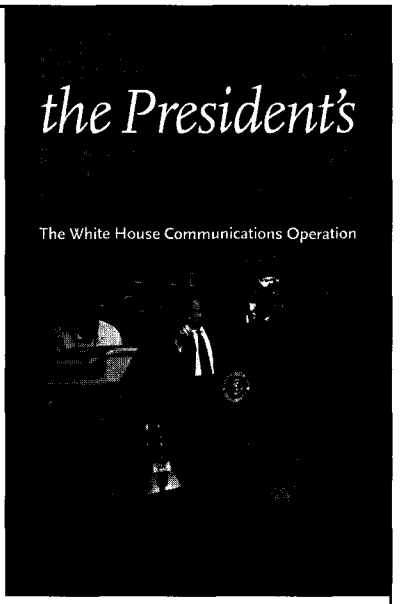

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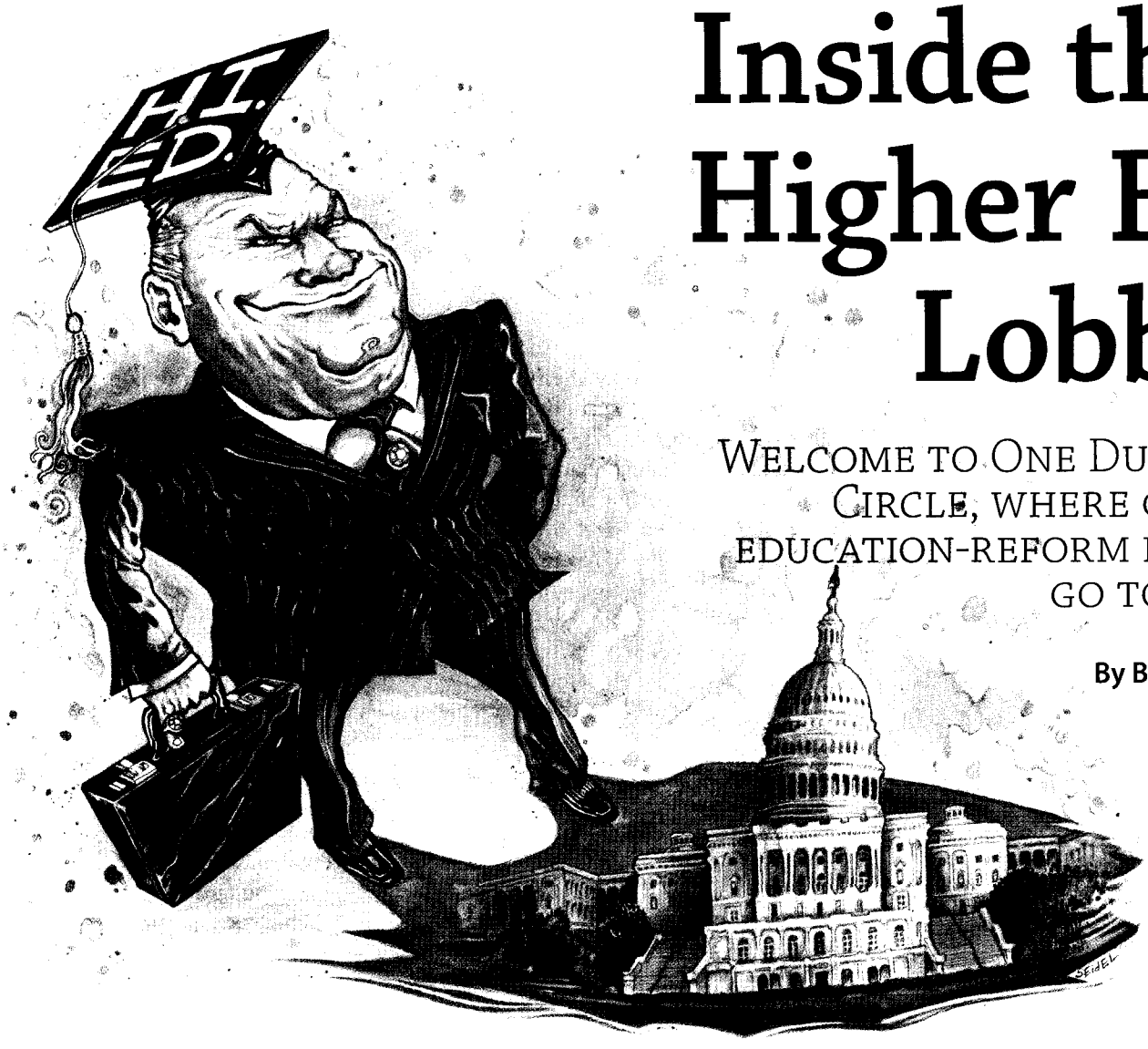
Inside the Higher Ed Lobby

Welcome to One Dupont Circle, where good education-reform ideas go to die.

By Ben Adler



Keith Seidel

In 2003, Ted Kennedy tried to nudge America's colleges and universities toward changing two of the least defensible practices in the modern admissions process. The first is legacy preferences, in which schools heavily favor applications from the children of alumni, often ahead of students with stronger academic resumes but less-well-connected parents. The second practice, early decision, where schools make it easier for prospective students to get admitted if they'll commit to attending at the time they apply, has a similar effect, since wealthier candidates don't need to compare financial aid packages and can therefore more easily commit to a school early. Taken together, the two practices fly in the face of the ideal of American meritocracy, and reduce the opportunities for young people of more modest backgrounds to go to selective colleges.

Under Kennedy's proposal, schools that used both tools and also graduated students of color at a disproportionately low rate—at the time, that meant eighty-seven schools, including five Ivies—would be required to try to boost that rate, and would receive federal money to do so. If they failed, the schools would be required to give up legacy preferences or early decision, or else forgo other forms of federal aid.

Kennedy was touching the third and fourth rails of higher education, a particularly courageous move for a senator who represents the state with perhaps the most powerful colleges in the country. Yet as a longtime leader on education issues, who two years earlier had worked with President Bush to pass the No Child Left Behind Act, Kennedy had sufficient clout to get his measure considered, even in a GOP Congress.

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Indeed, the proposal held out some appeal to certain of the Senate's Republican populists, who tend to be well disposed toward any effort to stick it to the East Coast elite.

But before Kennedy's proposal could even be formally introduced, One Dupont Circle weighed in. That's the address of the marble-and-glass office building that serves as the de facto headquarters for the array of groups representing the organized interests of America's colleges and universities. Prominently located in a fashionable D.C. neighborhood that's home to many of the better-funded nonprofits, One Dupont (or the "National Center for Higher Education," as its awning appropriately proclaims) is owned by the largest and most powerful of the higher ed associations, the American Council on Education. In order to facilitate coordination of policy and strategy, ACE leases the rest of the space, at below-market rates, exclusively to other higher ed groups (from the National Association of College and University Attorneys to the American College Personnel Association). That sense of cohesion tends to come through in the lobby's work: one higher ed expert I spoke to called One Dupont "a building that speaks, like the White House."

One higher ed expert I spoke to called One Dupont "a building that speaks, like the White House."

When the denizens of One Dupont learned of the Kennedy proposal, they pulled out all the stops to fight it. Legacy preferences are a key way for many colleges to maintain favor with deep-pocketed alumni, and early decision allows them to manage the admissions process with more predictability, and to lock in certain coveted applicants—often wealthy athletic recruits, who play sports like squash and lacrosse and whose parents can be expected to pay full price.

Higher ed lobbyists quickly mobilized their member colleges, encouraging them to go directly to senators on the key committee. Publicly, the lobby stressed the effect the measure would have on small religious institutions and historically black colleges, some of which, they claimed, depend for their existence on using the admissions process to maintain alumni loyalty. But in reality, say Hill staffers who worked on the issue, it was the elite New England private colleges and universities, appealing directly to their home-state senators Kennedy and Chris Dodd of Connecticut, who applied particularly effective behind-the-scenes pressure. When Dodd began to waver, Kennedy was forced to back off, and the two instead proposed a largely toothless alternative that merely required colleges to report on the number, socioeconomic status, and race of students who were relatives of alumni or were admitted through early decision. It involved no penalties of any kind. Yet ultimately, under pressure from One Dupont, even this measure was never brought up for a vote.

The fight to hold on to preferential admissions practices was only one example of what might be called the higher education lobby's misplaced priorities. For years, colleges and universities have hidden behind the argument that America's system of higher education is the best in the world to insulate themselves from scrutiny and accountability, and to operate with a remarkable degree of autonomy from Washington, given the funds lavished on them by the federal government. The claim that our higher ed system really *is* the best in the world, however, is becoming less and less true every year. In 1980, the United States led Canada by 10 percent in the percentage of its population with a college degree, and was ahead of the United Kingdom by 11 percent and France by 19 percent, according to a recent study by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. By 2000, those leads had shrunk to 3, 6, and 10 percent respectively—and the evidence suggests that the gaps have continued to narrow since then. Meanwhile, colleges, especially elite private institutions, have been raising tuition far faster than the rate of inflation year after year after year, outpacing the meager growth in federal tuition subsidies. That's put a squeeze on middle-class families and forced students deeper and deeper into debt. Worst of all, the information that policy makers and the public need to begin turning these problems around—which schools are educating their students effectively, and how tuition dollars are really being spent—remains locked in the ivory tower.

That's not to say that higher ed doesn't champion righteous causes. In the 1990s, they stood up to attempts by the Republican Congress to cut student aid, and went on to team with the Clinton administration to expand the Pell Grant program. And when, after 9/11, the Bush administration, in its zeal to keep out terrorists, imposed overly harsh visa requirements that ended up keeping out large numbers of foreign professors and grad students—exactly the kind of people who keep our universities humming with fresh ideas—higher ed led the successful effort to pressure the government to adopt a more sensible policy.

But the same lobbying muscle they've often put in the service of worthy causes they've also used to thwart promising reforms. On a range of issues, higher ed has stood up for its own narrow strategic or pecuniary concerns, rather than the broader interests of students or the country at large. In short, though it represents institutions that loudly proclaim a mission of public service, the higher education lobby more often acts like any other Washington trade group. Today, one of the most significant roadblocks to fixing many of the pressing problems of our troubled system of higher education is the higher education lobby itself.

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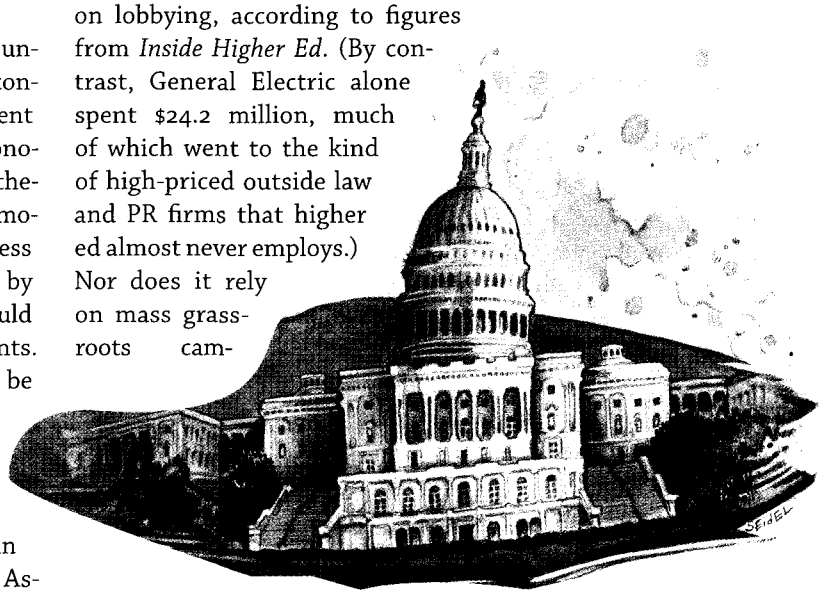
Though organized associations of colleges and universities have been lobbying the federal government on behalf of their interests since the nineteenth century, it wasn't until the 1950s that higher education began to exert influence in Washington in a systematic way. The GI Bill and the spreading prosperity of the postwar years helped create a society in which a college degree for the first time became a common middle-class aspiration. As higher education became increasingly central to American life, its Washington representatives began to work together to take advantage of this growing prominence, and to ensure that colleges and universities were getting their share of federal spending. In 1968, the American Council on Education—which represents both public and private universities as well as smaller regional and national associations, and bills itself as the "unifying voice" of higher ed—took over One Dupont and established it as the lobby's power center.

But there was trouble on the horizon. The political unrest on college campuses in the late 1960s provoked a conservative backlash. Concerned that the federal government would react by cracking down on colleges' historic autonomy, higher ed stepped up its Washington presence. Nonetheless, in 1972 it suffered a major legislative defeat: the Democratic Congress was considering ways to help expand access to higher education, and colleges advocated an approach by which they would receive aid as institutions, which would then allow them to offer tuition breaks to poorer students. But instead, Congress created federal grants that would be given directly to college students, to use at the school of their choice. (The program, conceived by Democratic Senator Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island, now bears his name.) Many in higher education circles blamed the defeat on a lack of lobbying sophistication. As a result, in 1976 a coalition of private schools founded the National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities (NAICU), with the explicit purpose of lobbying the federal government more effectively.

During this same period, the federal government's role in higher education began to increase, as Washington started subsidizing research more heavily, and regulating aspects of college life that had heretofore been seen as the exclusive purview of the institutions themselves—from the gender equity of their sports programs to the safety of their campuses. In response, higher education continued to beef up its lobbying presence. Then, in 1994, the Republican takeover of Congress brought to power a new wave of leaders with an essentially antagonistic attitude toward higher education as a whole, triggering a countermobilization by the lobby. With the Clinton White House as an ally, it successfully fought off Newt Gingrich's efforts to gut federal student financial aid, and helped block a bid by then Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole—who was looking to burnish his conservative credentials in advance of his presidential run—to eliminate affirmative action programs. Over the next few years, the lobby won steady or increased funding for almost every key program.

But it also learned how to use its growing Washington know-how to work not just *against* Republicans but *with* them, when doing so served its interests. For instance, in the early nineties, the Democratic Congress had created a system to allow the Education Department to audit the finances of colleges that triggered warning signs of mismanagement. Resenting this challenge to higher education's autonomy, NAICU skillfully framed the issue as a case of big government run wild, and in 1995 teamed with Gingrich and his conservative acolytes in Congress to eliminate the program.

The higher ed lobby is plenty aggressive, but in an understated way—money is not its main lever of power. In 2005, the last years for which figures are available, higher education associations officially spent just $6.2 million on lobbying, according to figures from *Inside Higher Ed*. (By contrast, General Electric alone spent $24.2 million, much of which went to the kind of high-priced outside law and PR firms that higher ed almost never employs.) Nor does it rely on mass grassroots campaigns to make its voice heard. Since most of the associations are organized under the tax code as 501(c)(3) organizations, they're legally allowed to spend only a limited amount of money on the kind of conventional mass political tactics—holding rallies and organizing letter- and e-mail-writing campaigns in order to affect legislation—that the teachers unions or environmental groups routinely use.



Instead, higher ed wields power in two effective if subtle ways. First, it plays an inside game, conducting quiet, sit-down meetings with policy makers in which it trades on its expertise on the often technical questions of education policy. Hill staffers looking to make sense of complicated legislative proposals, and to understand the impact on those most directly affected, have little alternative but to turn to higher ed lobbyists.

Second, higher ed makes skillful use of its hometown ties. Colleges typically occupy prominent positions in the economic, cultural, and civic life of their communities, and they're adept at using those positions to win influence. They

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THE HIGHER ED LOBBY: A GLOSSARY

Nonprofit colleges and universities are represented in Washington by an alphabet soup of organized associations, the most important of which comprise the "Big Six." The largest and most powerful is the American Council on Education. The other members are the Association of American Universities, an exclusive group of top research institutions that allows new members only by invitation; the National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges, a descendant of the first-ever higher ed group, the Association of American Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations, which was established in 1887; the National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities, composed of private schools ranging from two-year institutions to small liberal arts colleges to large universities; the American Association of State Colleges and Universities, which represents the less prestigious, more regional publics; and the American Association of Community Colleges. Almost all colleges and universities belong to ACE and at least one of the other five groups.—*B.A.*

can curry favor with legislators by conferring honorary degrees or inviting them to give commencement addresses, usually generating a round of positive PR back home. In some communities, college presidents are high-profile public figures, with ready access to the media and the power to help shape local opinion. Like large corporations, universities are often major employers in their districts, and their financial fortunes have a spillover effect on the local economy. More personal ties can also weigh heavily: according to some Hill staffers, legislators often have a soft spot for their alma mater, or for the state university whose football team they grew up rooting for.

Perhaps just as important, colleges are aware that they have control over a process—admissions—that looms large in the lives of powerful decision makers and their families. According to Daniel Golden, the author of *The Price of Admission: How America's Ruling Class Buys Its Way Into Elite Colleges—And Who Gets Left Outside the Gates*, they routinely admit the children of legislators who aren't the best candidates. (For example, Golden cites the case of then Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist's son, who in 2005, despite not being in the top 20 percent of his high school class, was admitted to Vanderbilt, an elite private school at which 80 percent of students finished in the top tenth of their class.) Barmak Nassirian, a lobbyist for the American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers (AACRAO), admitted to me, "We live in a system in which people take care of each other. I'm not going to say that doesn't happen."

The aggressiveness with which higher ed has come to oppose even Washington's gentlest attempts to improve its performance was on display last year, when a high-level commission appointed by Education Secretary Margaret Spellings produced its first draft of a report on the state of higher education. The commission, led by Charles Miller, a no-nonsense accountability hawk who in the 1990s had a hand in efforts to reform Texas's public K–12 schools, pulled no punches. It noted that graduation rates remain unimpressive, and that too many qualified students don't go to college, or drop out for financial reasons. "Among the vast and varied institutions that make up U.S. higher education," the draft declared, "we have found equal parts meritocracy and mediocrity."

ACE President David Ward, who served on the commission, told me he found this first version "unnecessarily polemical and confrontational." Not wanting to alienate higher ed, whose cooperation would be needed to implement the proposed reforms, the other commissioners acquiesced to changes in the report's language, in response to higher ed's complaints. Nonetheless, some on the commission were shocked by the lobby's utter resistance to the inclusion of any forthright criticism. "It was the closest thing I've seen to censorship in my life," says Miller. In the final, public version, the reference to mediocrity was gone, replaced by this more diplomatic statement: "Among the vast and varied institutions that make up U.S. higher education, we have found much to applaud but also much that requires urgent reform." Still, Ward refused to sign the final report.

If higher ed's reaction to a nonbinding report that merely sought to identify strategies for improvement provoked charges of censorship, it isn't surprising that the lobby has been even less willing to compromise when Washington has actually tried to legislate reform. For decades, education experts have been concerned about declining teacher quality in K–12 schools, and in the late 1990s the Clinton administration tried to address the problem by improving colleges' notoriously lackluster teacher-training programs. The Education Department put together a proposal requiring states to report the percentage of teacher-training-program graduates from each school who pass the state licensure exam, and to report which of their education schools, many of which are affiliated with major universities, were underperforming. Schools that consistently failed to produce graduates capable of passing the exams would lose their eligibility to receive federal aid for teacher training.

For many colleges, teacher-training programs, which can count on a steady stream of applicants and have relatively low administrative costs, represent a crucial revenue source—and the higher ed lobby went into overdrive to protect it. "They didn't want publicly accessible info for

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the performance of their graduates," says Sara Mead, who worked on implementation at the Education Department. "They didn't want to be held accountable. They would come up with all sorts of technical objections, but that was the real issue." Sarah Flanagan of NAICU insists that the proposal would have discriminated against historically black colleges, or any colleges that let in low-income students, since standardized tests like state licensure exams are racially and socioeconomically biased. But Kati Haycock of Education Trust, a nonprofit education organization, calls that notion "preposterous ... These are low-level exams. People who cannot pass the exam should not be teachers. There are plenty of African Americans who can pass these exams and then some."

This time, higher ed lost, and a version of the proposal passed Congress. But the lobby didn't give up. During the department's rule-making process on implementing the law in 1999, lobbyists showed up at every meeting with complaints and objections, watering down the effect of the legislation. In addition, higher ed mobilized at the state level, prevailing upon state governments to set absurdly lenient testing standards—in some cases, schools essentially avoided compliance by simply defining a "program completer" as someone who had passed the licensing exam, ensuring a 100 percent success rate. Nine years after its passage, most experts agree the law has done little to improve teacher quality.

Another area in which higher ed has hardly been a profile in courage is the issue of private lending. Currently, students can receive loans for college either directly from the government or through federally subsidized private lenders. Direct loans are cheaper for the taxpayer, both because they don't include the subsidy to the lender and because the federal government can borrow money at a better rate. Indeed, when President Clinton introduced direct lending, he sought to phase out the private-lender-based program altogether. But the private-sector bias of congressional Republicans (and their reliance on campaign contributions from the lending companies) thwarted that effort. Instead, schools are allowed to choose whether to participate in the direct-loan or the private-lender-based program.

Colleges are aware that they have control over a process—admissions—that looms large in the lives of powerful decision makers and their families.

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This arrangement creates an obvious incentive toward corruption, and over the last decade evidence began to mount that lenders and financial aid officers at some schools were building improperly close relationships. When the Clinton administration tried to look into the issue in the late 1990s, the higher ed lobby showed little interest. Only in the last two years, when outright corruption became undeniable, did higher ed get behind anything that might hurt the lending industry. And even then, it hardly went out on a limb, backing legislation—the College Cost Reduction Act, which passed both houses of Congress in July—that merely cuts subsidies to lenders, and that already had massive bipartisan support.

What they didn't do was get behind a more far-reaching approach when they had the chance. Last February, legislators from both parties proposed the Student Aid Reward Act (STAR), which sought to encourage schools to choose direct lending over private lending, by allowing them to keep three-quarters of the savings that direct loans generate—to be spent on additional Pell Grants for their students—with the remaining one-quarter going to deficit reduction. Schools that continued to participate in the lender-based program would face no penalty. In other words, schools would receive free federal money for Pell Grants, or would get increased leverage in negotiating with private lenders for a better deal.

Some on the commission were shocked by the lobby's utter resistance to the inclusion of any forthright criticism. "It was the closest thing I've seen to censorship in my life," says commission chair Charles Miller.

One might expect, then, that the proposal would have received the enthusiastic support of the higher education lobby. But none of the Big Six associations (see "The Higher Ed Lobby: A Glossary," page 38), and very few of the smaller lobbies, came out for STAR, much less put their political muscle behind passing it. "The silence was deafening," says Michael Dannenberg, an education expert at the New America Foundation. Without higher ed pushing back against the deep-pocketed lenders' opposition to STAR, it went nowhere.

What explains the lobby's reticence? NAICU's Flanagan says her organization opposed STAR because it would have meant that some students ended up receiving more aid than others. But that stance makes little sense, since no student would have ended up with less aid because of STAR. Many higher education experts suggest a more plausible reason. The relationship between the higher ed lobby and the lenders is complex and multifaceted. The two groups are allies in the fight for increased federal student aid. Lending company officials make it their business to get to know college administrators personally, and many have worked in higher ed themselves. Lenders have often provided financial backing for charitable organizations like the Nellie Mae Foundation and Knowledge Works, which further the cause of higher education by supporting research on college access and student achievement. Barmak Nassirian, whose organization, AACRAO, was one of the only members of the lobby to support STAR, explains the thinking: "The largesse and generosity of lenders has created enough friendship that you don't want to trample on it so easily for the sake of one piece of legislation."

Perhaps higher ed was politically shrewd not to alienate their sometime allies in the lending industry on this one. But there's no doubt that their hands-off approach worked to benefit the lenders—who Dannenberg calls "some of the worst actors in the higher education system"—at the expense of the students who are denied extra Pell Grants, and the taxpayers who continue to foot the bill for corporate subsidies.

But perhaps the most damaging example of the lobby standing in the way of efforts to improve the system involves its opposition to efforts to make public more information on educational outcomes. Currently, colleges report schoolwide statistics on tuition and graduation rates to the federal government, but they've resisted providing Washington with more student-specific information.

The consequences of this lack of data are severe: Suppose you're a high school senior trying to pick a college. You might want to know how a given school's graduates go on to do in the job market. The information would not be hard to assemble, since states already collect workforce data, which could then be cross-referenced with student records. But for now, you'd be out of luck, because schools keep their side of the information under wraps. Just as important, policy makers wanting to create better incentives for schools to improve first need to know how well individual schools are serving their students, and at what cost. But again, they're currently in the dark. It's as if the Federal Reserve were trying to set monetary policy without access to information about how well the economy was performing. As last year's Spellings Commission report dryly but firmly put it: "Right now, policymakers, scholarly researchers, and members of the public lack basic information on institutional performance and labor market outcomes for postsecondary institutions."

Last year, the Education Department recommended to Congress that it address this problem by passing a law to create a single federal student-unit-record system. But though one major higher ed group—the American Association of State Colleges and Universities, which represents the less prestigious, more regional public schools—supported the idea, many of the associations went into overdrive to fight it. Their chief argument against the proposal was that such a system could violate student privacy. But that position doesn't withstand even gentle scrutiny. The federal government routinely gathers far more sensitive personal data on private citizens—every year at tax time, for instance—but uses standard

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privacy protections to ensure that the information remains confidential. And the database would have been managed by the National Center for Education Statistics, a quasi-independent division of the Department of Education that has an excellent track record of protecting personal information.

Again, many higher ed experts say there are more self-interested reasons for the lobby's opposition. A student-unit-record system would lay bare some of the tricks of the trade that higher ed would just as soon keep under wraps. First, it would make public just how much aid many institutions give to academically strong middle- and upper-class students, simply to encourage them to attend and thereby boost the school's academic ranking in college guides like *U.S. News*'s. Perhaps more important, the system would undercut higher ed's longstanding efforts to keep the federal government out of the business of regulating college tuition in order to deal with the growing problem of college affordability. As average tuition has continued to rise since the early '90s, making college increasingly unaffordable for students from low-income families, the lobby's chief argument against federal regulation is that, thanks to financial aid and scholarship programs, many students—more than half, at some schools—don't pay the full "sticker price." And since no one knows exactly how much they do pay on average, the government shouldn't try to intervene based on incomplete information. The existence of a record system would fix this problem by giving the government that information, paving the way, higher ed fears, for the feds to regulate tuition rates. It would also reveal to students that many of their peers don't pay full price, making those who do pony up the full rate less willing to keep doing so as costs rise, according to some experts.

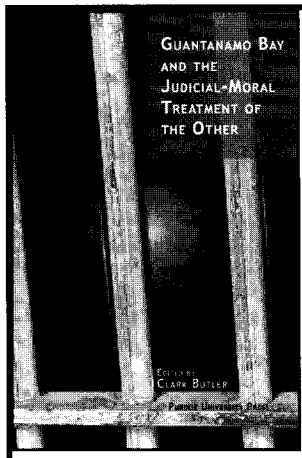
As a result, when the student-unit-record system came before Congress, it stood little chance. With senators pressured by higher ed—one-third of the members of the key committee were from the private-college-heavy Northeast—the writing was on the wall. In the end, not only did the proposal fail to make it out of committee, but the Senate went on to pass a measure flatly prohibiting the creation of such a system.

That the higher ed lobby acts in the narrow self-interest of the industry it represents is not, in a way, a big shocker; all lobbyists do this. Many Americans, however—liberals especially—expect a little more from the Washington representatives of colleges and universities. These are the institutions, after all, that are *in loco parentis* for their children. And they enjoy a nonprofit status that should oblige them to weigh larger societal interests more heavily in their calculations.

At the very least, it would be wise for higher ed to consider that acts that seem to be in their self-interest today may not be in the long run. The public's tolerance for the status quo is wearing a bit thin, and some in Washington are pushing radical action. A cautionary example helps prove the point: in 2003, California Republican Representative Buck McKeon offered a bill to withdraw federal student aid from colleges that raised tuition at a rate greater than inflation for three straight years. The measure played well with some angry parents, but it amounted to a form of government price control—a blunt and seldom effective instrument, and a curious one for a Republican to be proposing. That effort died in committee, but efforts like McKeon's could become commonplace unless colleges and universities begin to modify their knee-jerk opposition to reform.

Being responsive to the public doesn't have to mean being micromanaged by Washington. Instead of imposing price controls, the federal government should demand, and colleges should accept, the disclosure of key information—like what colleges are spending money on, and how well they're teaching—so that it can be made available to ordinary citizens, who can then decide what to do with their own tuition dollars. Doing so would create market pressures on universities to cut costs and increase the quality of their services. That won't necessarily be pleasant for the higher ed sector, but it may make voters more amenable to increasing subsidies on things the higher ed lobby cares about, like research and student financial aid. If America's system of higher education really is going to continue to be the best in the world, its Washington lobbyists will have to spend a little more time thinking about what's best for America. WM

Ben Adler is the editor of CampusProgress.org, at the Center for American Progress. The views expressed here are his own.



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1.	Texas A&M University* (28)	100	49	63/77	14 (9)	58 (90)	12	397 (12)	126	4	36 (10)
2.	University of California, Los Angeles* (3)	87	39	75/87	12 (16)	471 (6)	7	440 (6)	71	133	21 (47)
3.	University of California, Berkeley* (2)	84	35	81/87	7 (46)	247 (23)	1	582 (1)	30	149	26 (26)
4.	University of California, San Diego* (10)	72	33	73/85	12 (19)	420 (7)	15	261 (26)	58	170	23 (38)
5.	Pennsylvania State University, University Park* (5)	72	25	67/84	17 (3)	316 (19)	9	419 (11)	147	96	22 (43)
6.	University of Michigan, Ann Arbor* (21)	72	14	77/87	9 (26)	477 (4)	2	495 (4)	32	100	15 (103)
7.	Cornell University (NY) (6)	71	17	89/93	4 (80)	329 (18)	3	377 (14)	20	52	13 (124)
8.	University of California, Davis* (26)	69	30	64/80	16 (5)	205 (32)	14	327 (20)	67	79	20 (57)
9.	Stanford University (CA) (4)	68	14	97/94	-3 (162)	472 (5)	23	519 (3)	44	168	32 (16)
10.	South Carolina State University* (62)	68	70	24/47	23 (1)	4 (196)	233	0 (236)	230	3	17 (87)
11.	University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign* (20)	68	17	77/83	6 (51)	198 (34)	5	464 (5)	82	81	28 (19)
12.	Ohio State University, Columbus* (34)	66	26	65/68	3 (91)	203 (33)	27	369 (15)	128	97	42 (6)
13.	Massachusetts Institute of Technology (1)	66	16	102/94	-8 (205)	340 (15)	15	547 (2)	64	13	12 (141)
14.	University of Washington* (29)	64	23	69/74	5 (57)	590 (2)	30	354 (18)	28	112	14 (113)
15.	University of California, Riverside* (42)	63	44	50/65	15 (7)	53 (96)	109	113 (80)	129	173	51 (2)
16.	University of Virginia* (23)	63	8	84/93	9 (31)	189 (35)	13	183 (46)	12	25	16 (94)
17.	University of Pennsylvania (15)	63	27	92/94	2 (103)	494 (3)	32	269 (24)	62	167	16 (99)
18.	University of Wisconsin, Madison* (12)	62	14	75/77	2 (102)	364 (13)	11	430 (8)	25	108	18 (68)
19.	University of Texas, Austin* (25)	61	22	71/75	4 (81)	149 (44)	4	424 (9)	63	134	22 (44)
20.	University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill* (33)	60	15	80/84	4 (75)	306 (20)	33	241 (29)	15	42	12 (138)
21.	Iowa State University* (40)	60	25	59/68	9 (30)	86 (65)	50	207 (39)	102	70	47 (5)
22.	University of Notre Dame (IN) (14)	59	27	87/95	8 (35)	48 (99)	56	95 (92)	59	29	18 (70)
23.	College of William and Mary (VA)* (19)	58	9	86/91	4 (68)	14 (149)	47	33 (164)	2	23	18 (65)
24.	University of Southern California (30)	58	21	85/83	-2 (146)	288 (21)	80	260 (27)	45	55	25 (29)
25.	University of Arizona* (46)	58	25	59/59	0 (125)	207 (31)	31	267 (25)	87	89	37 (7)
26.	University of Florida* (41)	57	24	74/79	5 (54)	179 (36)	10	438 (7)	103	103	11 (150)
27.	Harvard University (MA) (11)	57	9	102/98	-4 (180)	379 (10)	6	336 (19)	69	163	21 (48)
28.	Georgetown University (DC) (22)	57	11	90/93	3 (93)	86 (64)	238	64 (120)	5	11	10 (171)
29.	Duke University (NC) (9)	57	11	97/93	-4 (169)	393 (8)	20	225 (32)	31	36	11 (159)
30.	Johns Hopkins University (MD) (17)	55	11	91/88	-3 (161)	1035 (1)	60	239 (30)	75	43	23 (37)
31.	Alabama A&M University* (63)	55	72	26/32	6 (48)	8 (177)	222	8 (222)	220	28	26 (25)
32.	University of Chicago (8)	55	13	96/91	-5 (181)	209 (28)	38	223 (33)	7	173	17 (85)

OVERALL SCORE: Overall score represents the combined score of our three metrics—social mobility, research, and service—where the highest is 100 and the lowest is zero. Each individual metric is worth 33 1/3 total points.

SOCIAL MOBILITY: The first column shows the percentage of students receiving Pell Grants. The second shows the predicted rate of graduation, based on incoming SAT scores and Pell Grant percentages, versus the actual rate of graduation. The third shows the difference between the actual graduation rate and the predicted graduation rate—a measure of how well the school performs as an engine of social mobility (see "A Note on Methodology," p. 53)—arrived at by subtracting the latter from the former. (The higher the number, the better; negative numbers indicate subpar performance.) Rank follows in parentheses.

RESEARCH: The first column shows the number of dollars (in millions) received from the federal government in research grants. Rank follows in parentheses. The second shows the school's ranking in the number of bachelor's recipients who go on to receive PhDs. The third ranks the school by number of PhDs awarded.

SERVICE: The first column ranks the school by percentage of students who go on to serve in the Peace Corps. The second column ranks the school by percentage of students who serve in ROTC. The third gives the percentage of funds in federal work-study money that goes to community service (versus non-community service); rank follows in parentheses.

The Washington Monthly *College Rankings were compiled by Nick Baumann, David Freedlander, Oliver Haydock, and Zachary Roth.*

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			SOCIAL MOBILITY			RESEARCH			SERVICE		
		OVERALL SCORE	% of students receiving Pell Grants	Predicted/actual grad rate based on % of Pell recipients and incoming SATs	Difference between predicted/actual grad rates (rank)	Research grant dollars in millions (rank)	Bachelor's to PhD rank	PhDs awarded (rank)	Peace Corps rank	ROTC rank	% of federal work-study funds spent on service (rank)
33.	Washington University in St. Louis (35)	55	7	96/91	-5 (190)	386 (9)	64	168 (54)	35	12	14 (118)
34.	Michigan State University* (66)	54	19	60/74	14 (8)	119 (47)	19	325 (21)	66	139	20 (54)
35.	Virginia Tech* (57)	54	14	69/76	7 (40)	70 (77)	17	253 (28)	70	8	10 (182)
36.	University of California, Santa Barbara* (65)	53	27	67/79	11 (22)	99 (61)	43	210 (36)	48	146	18 (74)
37.	Jackson State University (MS)* (105)	53	76	26/38	12 (20)	13 (151)	163	14 (210)	230	16	10 (181)
38.	Yale University (CT) (7)	52	11	101/97	-5 (184)	343 (14)	23	233 (31)	19	173	17 (80)
39.	Vanderbilt University (TN) (37)	52	12	88/88	0 (126)	259 (22)	94	134 (66)	56	10	16 (96)
40.	University of Pittsburgh* (55)	51	11	73/70	-3 (166)	372 (11)	56	184 (44)	13	24	13 (133)
41.	Columbia University (NY) (31)	51	17	95/92	-3 (152)	370 (12)	34	290 (22)	40	171	13 (135)
42.	Case Western Reserve University (OH) (18)	50	17	84/77	-7 (203)	241 (24)	94	149 (59)	46	173	48 (4)
43.	University of Iowa* (60)	49	18	60/66	6 (53)	178 (37)	60	147 (60)	73	128	35 (11)
44.	Indiana University, Bloomington* (81)	49	17	58/72	13 (12)	168 (38)	29	165 (56)	94	138	25 (30)
45.	University of Rochester (NY) (16)	49	21	83/80	-2 (149)	236 (25)	42	147 (60)	166	122	31 (18)
46.	Purdue University, West Lafayette (IN)* (77)	49	18	62/66	4 (70)	113 (50)	25	396 (13)	100	63	19 (60)
47.	Widener University (PA)* (98)	49	26	44/57	13 (15)	0 (228)	238	2 (231)	134	2	23 (39)
48.	University (WI) (58)	48	15	69/80	11 (21)	6 (184)	118	30 (166)	34	7	8 (206)
49.	University of California, Irvine* (80)	48	29	68/80	12 (17)	158 (41)	66	162 (57)	93	173	15 (102)
50.	Fordham University (NY) (48)	48	25	69/78	9 (27)	1 (217)	163	52 (139)	92	15	16 (92)
51.	University of Minnesota, Twin Cities* (49)	47	18	64/61	-4 (171)	329 (17)	20	421 (10)	223	130	25 (31)
52.	University of Maryland, College Park* (59)	46	17	77/77	0 (129)	111 (52)	22	364 (16)	53	147	16 (91)
53.	Boston University (50)	46	12	78/77	0 (132)	209 (29)	44	194 (42)	18	39	10 (179)
54.	Utah State University* (56)	46	37	44/47	3 (86)	65 (84)	97	57 (132)	180	173	49 (3)
55.	Northwestern University (IL) (36)	46	10	93/93	1 (119)	209 (30)	37	216 (34)	22	140	11 (165)
56.	Pepperdine University (CA) (72)	46	22	70/80	9 (24)	0 (230)	199	2 (231)	10	173	22 (41)
57.	Rutgers University, New Brunswick (NJ)* P (61)	45	28	68/71	3 (88)	118 (48)	18	209 (38)	164	161	17 (83)
58.	University of Colorado, Boulder* (74)	45	15	65/66	1 (112)	337 (16)	35	214 (35)	24	73	8 (203)
59.	Georgia Institute of Technology* (39)	45	16	85/76	-9 (209)	103 (58)	47	359 (17)	111	30	19 (64)
60.	University of Missouri, Columbia* (82)	45	17	65/66	1 (109)	75 (75)	54	157 (58)	101	66	35 (12)
61.	University of Montana* (79)	45	40	49/44	-5 (183)	26 (124)	137	36 (161)	26	61	21 (49)
62.	Howard University (DC) (92)	45	38	58/67	9 (32)	22 (134)	141	64 (120)	151	94	18 (76)
63.	Syracuse University (NY) (67)	45	20	70/79	9 (28)	26 (125)	94	82 (100)	79	69	24 (33)
64.	New York University (45)	44	19	83/83	0 (122)	153 (43)	68	171 (53)	55	173	24 (32)
65.	University of Illinois, Chicago* (97)	44	34	51/50	-2 (142)	149 (45)	91	174 (50)	138	31	15 (100)
66.	University of Idaho* (71)	43	38	51/57	7 (45)	32 (115)	149	43 (149)	52	37	7 (221)
67.	Brown University (RI) (24)	43	12	94/95	1 (115)	83 (69)	25	112 (81)	14	173	10 (180)
68.	Brigham Young University (UT) (111)	43	37	67/70	3 (90)	10 (168)	8	61 (124)	195	64	0 (240)
69.	Loyola University Chicago (88)	43	27	59/67	9 (34)	24 (130)	130	52 (139)	141	159	33 (14)
70.	Clarkson University (NY) (95)	42	26	66/71	5 (65)	5 (189)	199	17 (202)	114	5	6 (236)
71.	George Washington University (DC) (53)	42	10	80/78	-2 (143)	65 (83)	114	92 (95)	9	68	14 (109)
72.	University of San Diego (99)	42	18	66/73	7 (43)	0 (229)	199	11 (215)	36	9	9 (185)
73.	Dartmouth College (NH) (27)	42	14	96/94	-3 (159)	97 (62)	70	68 (113)	8	173	8 (205)
74.	University of Massachusetts, Amherst* (91)	42	24	61/66	5 (62)	59 (88)	39	167 (55)	78	104	17 (81)

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			SOCIAL MOBILITY			RESEARCH			SERVICE		
		OVERALL SCORE	% of students receiving Pell Grants	Predicted/actual grad rate based on % of Pell recipients and incoming SATs	Difference between predicted/actual grad rates (rank)	Research grant dollars in millions (rank)	Bachelor's to PhD rank	PhDs awarded (rank)	Peace Corps rank	ROTC rank	% of federal work-study funds spent on service (rank)
75.	Oregon State University* (106)	42	30	53/61	8 (37)	77 (74)	124	128 (67)	57	46	8 (215)
76.	University of California, Santa Cruz* (75)	41	27	63/70	8 (38)	56 (94)	40	82 (100)	38	173	13 (125)
77.	Stevens Institute of Technology (NJ) (156)	41	51	71/72	0 (121)	11 (160)	78	19 (192)	230	173	10 (169)
78.	Princeton University (NJ) (32)	41	8	100/97	-3 (153)	101 (60)	27	202 (40)	88	48	11 (162)
79.	Texas A&M University, Commerce* (151)	41	54	39/34	-5 (187)	0 (233)	238	2 (231)	230	173	37 (8)
80.	Tennessee State University* (192)	41	57	29/44	16 (6)	11 (159)	226	6 (225)	224	173	11 (145)
81.	University of Wyoming* (107)	40	27	53/58	5 (59)	24 (129)	124	36 (161)	77	76	26 (24)
82.	Mississippi State University* (138)	40	32	52/56	4 (74)	63 (85)	91	60 (125)	209	106	27 (20)
83.	University of Oregon* (70)	40	24	58/63	5 (63)	33 (112)	83	58 (129)	27	85	13 (120)
84.	Oklahoma State University* (89)	40	30	58/59	1 (114)	32 (113)	118	99 (88)	89	156	25 (27)
85.	Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute (NY) (52)	39	19	81/81	0 (127)	31 (118)	129	122 (71)	83	22	9 (184)
86.	Auburn University (AL)* (87)	39	16	60/62	2 (105)	37 (105)	71	116 (77)	152	45	32 (15)
87.	Ohio University* (68)	39	29	52/71	19 (2)	10 (162)	80	53 (137)	91	154	9 (195)
88.	University of Delaware* (94)	39	10	70/76	6 (50)	58 (91)	74	126 (68)	127	131	33 (13)
89.	Carnegie Mellon University (PA) (38)	39	14	89/86	-3 (164)	114 (49)	51	181 (49)	96	87	17 (85)
90.	Colorado State University* (123)	38	18	60/63	3 (89)	102 (59)	51	145 (62)	47	93	16 (89)
91.	Clark University (MA) (113)	38	23	68/70	2 (100)	2 (212)	163	29 (169)	6	173	7 (231)
92.	University of Texas, El Paso* (187)	38	60	30/28	-3 (150)	12 (156)	143	23 (183)	219	71	11 (148)
93.	St. John's University (NY) (158)	38	33	50/64	13 (11)	2 (215)	210	19 (192)	193	67	14 (114)
94.	Yeshiva University (NY) (154)	37	13	72/82	9 (29)	162 (40)	215	53 (137)	230	173	37 (9)
95.	State University of New York, Binghamton* (145)	37	33	72/77	5 (64)	7 (178)	62	67 (115)	104	173	10 (174)
96.	Northern Arizona University* (132)	37	36	51/48	-3 (163)	12 (155)	109	24 (178)	39	72	14 (110)
97.	Temple University (PA)* (131)	37	34	55/57	3 (96)	44 (100)	91	102 (85)	158	127	16 (90)
98.	Brandeis University (MA) (54)	37	14	86/88	2 (98)	33 (111)	76	59 (126)	16	173	11 (156)
99.	State University of New York, Stony Brook* (205)	37	40	63/59	-4 (175)	105 (57)	46	191 (43)	212	173	9 (183)
100.	Emory University (GA) (64)	36	13	89/91	1 (111)	214 (26)	79	93 (93)	43	173	11 (156)
101.	State University of New York, Albany* (200)	36	19	59/62	2 (99)	15 (148)	235	86 (99)	4	173	11 (164)
102.	Florida Institute of Technology (96)	36	27	64/52	-12 (224)	4 (198)	199	17 (202)	178	1	19 (59)
103.	Rice University (TX) (13)	36	11	95/90	-5 (192)	39 (103)	66	123 (70)	23	145	14 (118)
104.	University of San Francisco (116)	36	16	60/67	6 (49)	1 (225)	215	5 (227)	65	21	17 (82)
105.	University of New Hampshire* (125)	36	16	61/73	12 (18)	44 (101)	111	48 (142)	61	60	11 (147)
106.	North Carolina State University* (114)	35	17	67/71	4 (78)	85 (67)	56	286 (23)	98	111	10 (167)
107.	Florida State University* (128)	35	26	63/66	4 (79)	51 (97)	35	118 (75)	113	120	8 (201)
108.	American University (DC) (84)	35	14	77/71	-6 (196)	1 (218)	146	58 (129)	3	173	14 (111)
109.	Boston College (83)	35	11	84/91	6 (47)	16 (144)	73	42 (152)	29	166	13 (133)
110.	Biola University (CA) (163)	35	25	58/69	11 (23)	0 (233)	226	8 (222)	68	173	22 (40)
111.	State University of New York, Buffalo* (194)	35	33	60/59	-1 (134)	70 (79)	72	198 (41)	84	173	9 (186)
112.	University of South Dakota* (130)	35	33	48/46	-1 (138)	12 (157)	199	11 (215)	112	40	22 (45)
113.	Arizona State University* (93)	35	26	57/55	-2 (147)	71 (76)	41	182 (47)	131	153	18 (69)
114.	University of Connecticut* (112)	34	15	67/72	5 (66)	110 (53)	80	184 (44)	186	119	21 (51)
115.	Tufts University (MA) (47)	34	11	92/90	-2 (148)	70 (78)	83	78 (105)	37	162	16 (93)
116.	University of Southern Mississippi* (124)	34	48	41/46	5 (60)	18 (140)	105	59 (126)	155	102	1 (239)

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		OVERALL SCORE	% of students receiving Pell Grants	Predicted/actual grad rate based on % of Pell recipients and incoming SATs	Difference between predicted/actual grad rates (rank)	Research grant dollars per full-time faculty (rank)	Faculty-to-PhD ratio (rank)	PhDs awarded (rank)	Peace Corps rank	ROTC rank	% of federal work-study funds spent on service (rank)
117.	University of North Dakota* (169)	34	26	55/56	1 (108)	26 (126)	124	20 (191)	105	44	18 (67)
118.	SUNY Coll. of Environ. Sci. and Forestry* (204)	34	28	59/63	4 (82)	1 (219)	215	18 (198)	21	173	14 (117)
119.	University of South Carolina, Columbia* (121)	34	24	64/65	1 (107)	41 (102)	111	116 (77)	171	57	15 (101)
120.	Old Dominion University (VA)* (150)	33	29	51/48	-3 (155)	15 (146)	149	46 (145)	204	18	16 (88)
121.	University of Kentucky* (76)	33	26	59/60	1 (116)	113 (51)	62	174 (50)	169	148	14 (116)
122.	Wake Forest University (NC) (43)	33	8	85/88	4 (84)	110 (54)	105	48 (142)	11	173	8 (202)
123.	Illinois State University* (152)	33	21	46/63	17 (4)	2 (208)	111	7 (224)	132	83	16 (98)
124.	Illinois Institute of Technology (119)	33	25	71/69	-3 (151)	4 (194)	219	56 (134)	172	17	8 (211)
125.	West Virginia University* (159)	33	28	50/54	4 (67)	29 (121)	88	103 (84)	168	41	10 (168)
126.	Clemson University (SC)* (110)	33	15	72/75	4 (85)	28 (122)	124	79 (104)	76	47	13 (130)
127.	Northern Illinois University* (208)	33	29	46/53	7 (42)	6 (185)	104	24 (178)	188	121	22 (42)
128.	University of Maine, Orono* (160)	33	31	53/53	0 (131)	20 (138)	144	24 (178)	117	62	17 (84)
129.	Miami University, Oxford (OH)* (100)	33	17	71/80	9 (25)	7 (182)	54	32 (165)	81	152	12 (137)
130.	University of Alabama* (140)	33	24	59/63	4 (77)	13 (154)	134	73 (107)	211	118	23 (36)
131.	Tulane University (LA) CW (51)	32	17	83/73	-11 (218)	68 (80)	90	92 (95)	54	19	6 (237)
132.	University of Tennessee* (129)	32	23	64/57	-6 (199)	49 (98)	47	135 (65)	121	115	22 (46)
133.	University of Oklahoma* (103)	32	10	66/55	-11 (219)	66 (81)	88	108 (83)	33	27	21 (53)
134.	Catholic University of America (DC) (117)	32	12	63/71	7 (39)	11 (161)	183	19 (192)	42	160	26 (23)
135.	University of Nebraska, Lincoln* (109)	32	22	62/63	2 (101)	54 (95)	74	126 (68)	72	92	9 (193)
136.	Clark Atlanta University (165)	32	59	32/31	-2 (141)	6 (188)	223	9 (221)	145	169	8 (216)
137.	Washington State University* (134)	32	29	56/63	7 (41)	57 (93)	156	136 (63)	123	158	8 (199)
138.	University of Dayton (OH) (148)	31	13	65/79	14 (10)	29 (119)	152	11 (215)	85	58	10 (178)
139.	University of Georgia* (104)	31	14	72/73	1 (117)	83 (70)	45	210 (36)	74	125	8 (220)
140.	University of Missouri, Rolla* (86)	31	25	69/64	-5 (186)	16 (143)	157	66 (117)	183	35	15 (105)
141.	California Institute of Technology (44)	31	18	104/90	-14 (229)	154 (42)	83	182 (47)	51	173	7 (226)
142.	New Mexico State University* (73)	31	39	40/42	2 (104)	63 (86)	134	43 (149)	189	150	14 (115)
143.	Florida International University* (161)	30	38	55/48	-6 (198)	22 (133)	114	44 (148)	208	123	17 (79)
144.	South Dakota State University* (179)	30	28	50/55	4 (73)	10 (164)	163	18 (198)	143	33	9 (198)
145.	San Diego State University* (170)	30	30	53/53	0 (128)	32 (116)	97	18 (198)	139	101	15 (104)
146.	Worcester Polytechnic Institute (MA) (102)	30	15	78/74	-4 (173)	4 (192)	152	21 (187)	119	6	3 (238)
147.	University of South Florida* (144)	30	31	57/48	-10 (212)	66 (82)	59	100 (87)	179	84	17 (77)
148.	University of New Mexico* (78)	30	38	45/41	-4 (178)	82 (71)	76	121 (73)	156	144	11 (161)
149.	Lehigh University (PA) (90)	30	11	83/85	3 (97)	18 (141)	130	82 (100)	115	38	9 (194)
150.	DePaul University (IL) (149)	30	28	58/64	5 (58)	3 (201)	157	21 (187)	125	173	18 (73)
151.	University of Hawaii, Manoa* (147)	29	22	57/51	-6 (193)	84 (68)	97	99 (88)	118	59	18 (66)
152.	Bowling Green State University (OH)* (186)	29	26	47/60	13 (13)	4 (193)	107	46 (145)	206	109	10 (177)
153.	Montana State University, Bozeman* (115)	29	33	52/47	-5 (188)	37 (104)	174	23 (183)	49	56	8 (210)
154.	University of Kansas* (135)	29	16	60/59	-1 (135)	85 (66)	65	114 (79)	50	90	11 (152)
155.	University of Denver (133)	29	16	65/70	5 (61)	9 (174)	199	39 (157)	17	173	11 (160)
156.	Polytechnic University (NY) (120)	29	59	60/45	-14 (230)	6 (186)	223	27 (171)	230	173	7 (231)
157.	University of Mississippi* (166)	29	24	53/56	3 (87)	61 (87)	149	24 (178)	222	34	12 (144)
158.	Ball State University (IN)* (225)	28	23	50/54	4 (69)	2 (213)	141	14 (210)	120	113	21 (50)

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159.	University of the Pacific (CA) (69)	28	32	65/65	0 (123)	1 (220)	194	5 (227)	230	173	20 (56)
160.	Southern Methodist University (TX) (139)	28	17	72/72	0 (130)	4 (195)	163	35 (163)	86	173	25 (28)
161.	University of Vermont* (126)	28	17	65/65	1 (120)	80 (72)	134	37 (160)	80	77	13 (126)
162.	University of Utah* (137)	28	29	54/43	-11 (221)	166 (39)	51	172 (52)	142	107	11 (151)
163.	Baylor University (TX) (122)	28	19	68/72	4 (72)	2 (210)	118	16 (206)	99	173	19 (63)
164.	Texas Christian University (157)	27	15	65/69	4 (71)	3 (200)	181	10 (219)	90	26	7 (231)
165.	Indiana University of Pennsylvania* (175)	27	35	49/47	-2 (140)	3 (203)	139	17 (202)	182	50	8 (209)
166.	Kansas State University* (142)	27	27	59/56	-3 (158)	36 (106)	103	102 (85)	107	88	8 (208)
167.	Southern Illinois University, Carbondale* (168)	27	36	45/41	-4 (174)	9 (169)	87	65 (118)	163	117	12 (139)
168.	University of Cincinnati* (108)	27	29	45/49	4 (76)	106 (56)	128	122 (71)	167	155	8 (199)
169.	Andrews University (MI) (203)	27	43	48/51	3 (94)	0 (232)	199	1 (234)	230	173	10 (175)
170.	University of Arkansas* (143)	26	24	61/56	-5 (185)	22 (135)	118	93 (93)	153	53	12 (140)
171.	Seton Hall University (NJ) (172)	26	22	58/56	-2 (145)	1 (221)	188	19 (192)	202	20	11 (149)
172.	Hofstra University (NY) (146)	26	23	62/55	-7 (202)	0 (227)	188	16 (206)	217	49	24 (34)
173.	East Carolina University (NC)* (213)	26	30	48/54	6 (52)	9 (175)	157	11 (215)	221	129	13 (122)
174.	Kent State University (OH)* (85)	26	36	45/46	1 (118)	6 (183)	118	50 (141)	214	136	11 (154)
175.	University of Akron (OH)* (181)	26	39	40/35	-5 (189)	10 (166)	107	89 (97)	191	143	15 (108)
176.	University of Toledo (OH)* (180)	26	33	48/42	-6 (195)	13 (153)	152	41 (154)	159	98	18 (74)
177.	Duquesne University (PA) (191)	26	20	60/68	8 (36)	2 (211)	174	22 (186)	174	165	18 (71)
178.	Central Michigan University* (219)	26	26	47/55	9 (33)	3 (202)	144	14 (210)	196	75	9 (190)
179.	Wright State University (OH)* (218)	26	29	42/41	-1 (136)	13 (150)	194	19 (192)	228	124	27 (21)
180.	University of Alabama, Birmingham* (162)	26	33	52/36	-16 (232)	212 (27)	183	96 (90)	187	54	13 (127)
181.	University of Miami (FL) (136)	25	21	74/71	-4 (172)	140 (46)	97	72 (108)	124	173	10 (171)
182.	University of Bridgeport (CT) (227)	25	49	28/34	7 (44)	0 (233)	237	0 (236)	230	173	7 (224)
183.	University of Nevada, Las Vegas* (171)	25	22	47/41	-6 (197)	22 (131)	191	16 (206)	207	173	63 (1)
184.	Michigan Technological University* (127)	25	22	62/59	-3 (154)	12 (158)	169	42 (152)	95	51	9 (187)
185.	University of Tulsa (OK) (118)	25	24	63/61	-3 (156)	3 (206)	174	25 (174)	41	173	13 (136)
186.	University of La Verne (CA) (182)	25	37	47/52	5 (55)	0 (233)	226	0 (236)	137	173	7 (223)
187.	University of Memphis* (173)	25	41	42/33	-9 (210)	10 (163)	146	43 (149)	181	99	12 (143)
188.	University of South Alabama* (141)	25	25	49/33	-16 (236)	15 (147)	169	6 (225)	122	14	21 (52)
189.	University of St. Thomas (MN) (211)	25	16	60/74	13 (14)	0 (231)	226	1 (234)	201	132	14 (112)
190.	U. of Colorado, Denver and Health Sci. Ctr* (235)	24	17	52/42	-10 (216)	0 (233)	226	47 (144)	1	126	7 (234)
191.	University of Louisville (KY)* (155)	24	25	46/37	-9 (211)	57 (92)	146	65 (118)	194	91	27 (22)
192.	East Tennessee State University* (210)	24	36	49/39	-10 (213)	5 (190)	181	4 (230)	192	65	15 (105)
193.	Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge* (153)	23	20	60/57	-3 (160)	107 (55)	69	136 (63)	215	110	9 (191)
194.	Wayne State University (MI)* (223)	23	34	39/33	-6 (194)	96 (63)	114	119 (74)	216	151	12 (142)
195.	University of North Carolina, Greensboro* (212)	23	32	50/51	1 (106)	2 (209)	163	17 (202)	135	173	11 (155)
196.	Drexel University (PA) (183)	23	18	67/60	-7 (201)	35 (109)	171	82 (100)	146	32	9 (192)
197.	Western Michigan University* (217)	22	21	52/54	3 (92)	10 (165)	114	59 (126)	106	116	9 (196)
198.	George Mason University (VA)* (196)	22	20	58/53	-5 (182)	20 (139)	138	111 (82)	148	78	13 (121)
199.	Adelphi University (NY) (199)	22	26	57/54	-3 (157)	0 (233)	223	39 (157)	136	173	19 (61)
200.	University of Rhode Island* (176)	22	21	59/56	-3 (167)	29 (120)	199	63 (122)	97	95	11 (145)

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		SOCIAL MOBILITY			RESEARCH			SERVICE		
	OVERALL SCORE	% of students receiving Pell Grants	Predicted/actual grad rate based on % of Pell recipients and incoming SATs	Difference between predicted/actual grad rates (rank)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Peace Corps rank	ROTC rank	% of federal work-study funds spent on service (rank)
201. University of Central Florida* (178)	21	24	61/57	-4 (179)	36 (108)	101	87 (98)	197	141	11 (166)
202. Louisiana Tech University* (202)	21	28	50/49	-1 (139)	3 (204)	191	25 (174)	226	173	19 (58)
203. University of Missouri, Kansas City* (185)	20	26	46/46	0 (124)	15 (145)	210	27 (171)	109	173	17 (78)
204. North Dakota State University* (201)	20	25	53/56	3 (95)	32 (114)	173	25 (174)	170	135	8 (218)
205. St. Louis University (177)	20	12	70/75	5 (56)	36 (107)	162	41 (154)	130	173	13 (131)
206. Georgia State University* (193)	20	35	53/40	-13 (226)	22 (132)	174	54 (136)	149	157	13 (128)
207. University of Houston* (197)	20	35	51/40	-11 (220)	25 (127)	118	118 (75)	190	142	7 (222)
208. Middle Tennessee State University* (207)	20	28	49/40	-8 (207)	1 (224)	152	5 (227)	175	86	18 (72)
209. University of Maryland, Baltimore County* (167)	20	22	69/58	-12 (223)	35 (110)	174	71 (109)	110	173	19 (62)
210. Indiana-Purdue University, Indianapolis* (209)	20	31	44/26	-18 (239)	0 (233)	191	0 (236)	184	114	31 (17)
211. Texas Woman's University* (222)	20	42	39/35	-3 (165)	0 (233)	194	18 (198)	176	173	8 (217)
212. Idaho State University* (184)	20	55	40/21	-19 (240)	3 (207)	199	13 (213)	177	173	10 (170)
213. Nova Southeastern University (FL) (164)	19	45	46/39	-8 (206)	1 (216)	241	58 (129)	230	173	8 (213)
214. University of North Texas* (206)	19	27	59/43	-16 (233)	17 (142)	101	69 (110)	173	173	24 (35)
215. Pace University (NY) (215)	19	32	53/56	4 (83)	3 (205)	241	0 (236)	225	173	7 (225)
216. University of Nevada, Reno* (236)	18	14	54/52	-2 (144)	31 (117)	183	74 (106)	144	80	16 (97)
217. Texas Tech University* (188)	18	21	60/55	-5 (191)	20 (137)	83	96 (90)	140	137	7 (229)
218. Cleveland State University* (224)	18	41	33/30	-4 (170)	7 (181)	171	24 (178)	210	173	8 (207)
219. New Jersey Institute of Technology* (190)	18	29	58/54	-4 (177)	9 (170)	219	69 (110)	198	173	9 (197)
220. University of Texas, Arlington* (221)	17	31	50/40	-10 (214)	9 (176)	183	67 (115)	200	74	8 (212)
221. New School University (NY) (220)	17	26	59/57	-1 (137)	4 (197)	235	57 (132)	160	173	8 (219)
222. Indiana State University* (239)	15	31	38/39	1 (113)	1 (222)	210	16 (206)	218	173	10 (176)
223. Wichita State University (KS)* (228)	15	33	50/37	-13 (227)	10 (167)	157	30 (166)	150	173	13 (132)
224. Northeastern University (MA) (195)	14	14	72/61	-11 (222)	25 (128)	157	63 (122)	154	105	11 (158)
225. Portland State University (OR)* (229)	14	35	49/35	-14 (231)	9 (173)	194	40 (156)	133	173	10 (173)
226. University of Massachusetts, Boston* (226)	14	30	52/35	-17 (237)	7 (179)	194	27 (171)	157	173	20 (55)
227. Virginia Commonwealth University* (216)	14	24	54/43	-11 (217)	80 (73)	130	68 (113)	116	173	9 (189)
228. University of Northern Colorado* (234)	13	20	50/46	-4 (176)	1 (223)	188	19 (192)	108	173	15 (107)
229. Rutgers University, Newark* (189)	13	29	58/58	-1 (133)	0 (233)	215	46 (145)	230	173	0 (240)
230. University of Louisiana, Lafayette* (241)	12	34	45/39	-7 (200)	4 (191)	174	21 (187)	230	173	7 (228)
231. University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee* (233)	11	23	49/42	-7 (204)	9 (172)	130	55 (135)	161	172	9 (188)
232. University of Texas, Dallas* (198)	11	26	72/56	-16 (234)	13 (152)	210	69 (110)	185	173	6 (235)
233. Florida Atlantic University* (237)	9	29	50/37	-13 (228)	9 (171)	174	29 (169)	213	173	11 (153)
234. University of Hartford (CT) (238)	9	17	54/56	1 (110)	1 (226)	226	0 (236)	203	173	8 (204)
235. University of Alabama, Huntsville* (214)	7	27	61/44	-17 (238)	26 (123)	199	39 (157)	230	173	11 (163)
236. University of Missouri, St. Louis* (232)	7	24	55/43	-12 (225)	3 (199)	210	30 (166)	165	173	8 (214)
237. New Mexico Inst. of Mining and Tech.* (174)	7	24	68/44	-24 (241)	21 (136)	183	12 (214)	60	173	7 (229)
238. University of New Orleans* (231)	6	40	40/24	-16 (235)	0 (233)	139	21 (187)	199	173	0 (240)
239. University of Massachusetts, Lowell* (230)	6	19	56/46	-10 (215)	7 (180)	234	23 (183)	205	173	13 (129)
240. Oakland University (MI)* (242)	4	17	48/45	-3 (168)	6 (187)	199	10 (219)	229	173	7 (227)
241. Texas A&M University, Kingsville* (101)	1	18	37/28	-8 (208)	2 (214)	226	0 (236)	227	164	13 (123)
242. University of Alaska, Fairbanks* (240)	0	18	51/22	-29 (242)	59 (89)	221	25 (174)	162	82	16 (95)

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School's ranking last year in parentheses.
*Public institution

		OVERALL SCORE	SOCIAL MOBILITY				RESEARCH		SERVICE		
			Pell Grants	Predicted rate of graduation	Actual rate of graduation	Difference	Research grant dollars in millions (rank)	Bachelor's to PhD rank	Peace Corps rank	ROTC rank	% of federal work-study funds spent on service (rank)
1.	Presbyterian College (SC) (21)	100	14	69/73	5 (54)	0 (111)	134	164	3	19 (34)
2.	Smith College (MA) (16)	95	28	73/86	13 (10)	1907 (11)	7	58	18	15 (60)
3.	Wheaton College (IL) (11)	94	16	82/86	4 (64)	0 (111)	22	96	5	22 (25)
4.	Wesleyan University (CT) (3)	94	14	88/90	2 (83)	4455 (4)	2	24	18	13 (77)
5.	Virginia Military Institute* (34)	94	14	69/66	-4 (140)	0 (111)	134	119	1	16 (53)
6.	Claremont McKenna College (CA) (7)	92	13	88/88	-1 (121)	0 (111)	83	52	2	10 (121)
7.	Bucknell University (PA) (32)	89	11	82/90	7 (39)	2360 (9)	17	50	11	13 (83)
8.	Williams College (MA) (8)	87	12	92/96	4 (58)	1972 (10)	4	107	18	16 (51)
9.	Amherst College (MA) (5)	86	15	92/96	5 (57)	0 (111)	8	38	18	31 (10)
10.	Spelman College (GA) (22)	86	39	60/75	14 (7)	3506 (7)	25	71	15	9 (137)
11.	Vassar College (NY) (42)	85	12	88/92	3 (74)	361 (53)	8	68	18	28 (13)
12.	St. Olaf College (MN) (49)	84	14	76/83	7 (34)	1675 (14)	6	41	18	9 (149)
13.	Oberlin College (OH) (13)	83	16	85/83	-2 (131)	662 (36)	1	42	18	25 (17)
14.	Furman University (SC) (37)	81	9	82/84	2 (86)	567 (40)	12	60	12	19 (35)
15.	Westminster College (PA) (132)	76	26	59/76	17 (3)	0 (111)	71	109	18	23 (20)
16.	Siena College (NY) (86)	76	19	66/80	14 (8)	465 (46)	101	161	8	10 (128)
17.	Seton Hill University (PA) (177)	75	35	52/54	2 (85)	770 (30)	160	167	4	13 (81)
18.	St. John's University (MN) (62)	75	16	70/79	9 (23)	0 (111)	75	84	7	11 (112)
19.	Colgate University (NY) (67)	74	10	86/91	5 (51)	0 (111)	12	49	18	22 (26)
20.	Morehouse College (GA) (77)	74	36	57/61	3 (67)	4353 (5)	48	124	14	11 (109)
21.	Wellesley College (MA) (2)	73	19	86/93	7 (40)	1505 (16)	17	33	18	16 (54)
22.	Mount Holyoke College (MA) (6)	73	24	78/80	2 (94)	1810 (12)	21	11	18	21 (28)
23.	Whitman College (MA) (9)	72	11	85/86	1 (97)	240 (64)	51	3	18	37 (3)
24.	Washington and Lee University (VA) (39)	71	5	89/87	-2 (130)	202 (73)	44	62	18	37 (4)
25.	Bates College (ME) (26)	70	10	85/89	4 (65)	12 (109)	17	34	18	23 (22)
26.	Haverford College (PA) (4)	70	11	87/88	1 (106)	658 (37)	30	75	18	28 (12)
27.	College of the Holy Cross (MA) (63)	70	10	79/91	12 (13)	460 (47)	40	173	13	7 (195)
28.	Hobart and William Smith Colleges (NY) (35)	69	20	64/71	6 (46)	100 (92)	90	57	18	31 (11)
29.	Swarthmore College (PA) (10)	68	13	91/93	1 (96)	284 (61)	4	97	18	10 (123)
30.	Bryn Mawr College (PA) (1)	68	18	80/86	7 (43)	891 (23)	27	39	18	16 (48)
31.	Colby College (ME) (46)	67	8	87/89	2 (84)	758 (31)	30	36	18	22 (24)
32.	Middlebury College (VT) (20)	67	11	87/94	6 (45)	775 (29)	15	132	18	10 (118)
33.	Connecticut College (CT) (45)	67	10	83/87	4 (59)	143 (85)	51	55	18	28 (14)

OVERALL SCORE: Overall score represents the combined score of our three metrics—social mobility, research, and service—where the highest is 100 and the lowest is zero. Each individual metric is worth 33 1/3 total points.

SOCIAL MOBILITY: The first column shows the percentage of students receiving Pell Grants. The second shows the predicted rate of graduation, based on incoming SAT scores and Pell Grant percentages, versus the actual rate of graduation. The third shows the difference between the actual graduation rate and the predicted graduation rate—a measure of how well the school performs as an engine of social mobility (see "A Note on Methodology," p. 53)—arrived at by subtracting the latter from the former. (The higher the number, the better; negative numbers indicate subpar performance.) Rank follows in parentheses.

RESEARCH: The first column shows the number of dollars (in millions) received from the federal government in research grants. Rank follows in parentheses. The second shows the school's ranking in the number of bachelor's recipients who go on to receive PhDs.

SERVICE: The first column ranks the school by percentage of students who go on to serve in the Peace Corps. The second column ranks the school by percentage of students who serve in ROTC. The third gives the percentage of funds in federal work-study money that goes to community service (versus non-community service); rank follows in parentheses.

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		OVERALL SCORE	SOCIAL MOBILITY				RESEARCH		SERVICE		
							Research grant dollars in millions (rank)	Bachelor's to PhD rank	Peace Corps rank	ROTC rank	% of federal work-study funds spent on service (rank)
34.	Judson College (AL) (181)	66	43	44/56	12 (11)		7246 (3)	187	173	18	9 (147)
35.	Dickinson College (PA) (50)	65	11	81/84	3 (72)		725 (33)	53	32	9	12 (96)
36.	Knox College (IL) (23)	65	24	72/75	2 (81)		0 (111)	83	31	18	35 (6)
37.	St. Augustine's College (NC) (38)	65	79	24/38	14 (9)		0 (111)	160	173	6	8 (165)
38.	Carleton College (MN) (12)	65	11	90/87	-3 (136)		100 (92)	3	1	18	11 (103)
39.	Barnard College (NY) (31)	63	19	84/89	5 (53)		197 (76)	12	90	18	13 (80)
40.	University of Richmond (VA) (60)	63	7	84/82	-3 (132)		667 (35)	35	79	10	11 (116)
41.	Pomona College (CA) (15)	63	12	93/95	2 (88)		1627 (15)	16	44	18	10 (126)
42.	Fisk University (TN) (27)	61	54	42/58	15 (4)		3891 (6)	148	152	18	1 (200)
43.	Occidental College (CA) (33)	61	24	77/84	7 (41)		669 (34)	35	43	18	14 (75)
44.	Earlham College (IN) (41)	61	23	72/67	-5 (158)		8824 (1)	53	25	18	15 (59)
45.	Talladega College (AL) (64)	60	78	18/42	23 (1)		32 (103)	178	173	18	13 (82)
46.	Bethany College (WV) (105)	58	33	51/68	17 (2)		0 (111)	134	173	18	11 (114)
47.	Hope College (MI) (131)	58	15	72/75	3 (79)		1012 (22)	22	61	18	7 (188)
48.	Alma College (MI) (107)	57	28	61/72	11 (15)		1039 (21)	53	112	18	7 (183)
49.	Mills College (CA) (36)	57	43	58/68	10 (17)		529 (43)	125	148	18	21 (29)
50.	Franklin and Marshall (PA) (97)	57	10	80/82	2 (89)		439 (49)	27	81	18	12 (89)
51.	College of Saint Benedict (MN) (75)	57	18	68/77	9 (21)		0 (111)	110	65	18	18 (39)
52.	Luther College (IA) (90)	57	20	67/75	8 (30)		0 (111)	40	67	18	11 (100)
53.	St. Vincent College (PA) (128)	57	23	61/70	9 (20)		0 (111)	148	168	18	19 (33)
54.	Concordia College (MN) (106)	56	23	63/63	0 (115)		782 (28)	44	70	18	16 (47)
55.	Washington and Jefferson College (PA) (121)	56	21	67/68	2 (91)		196 (78)	134	145	18	27 (15)
56.	Hamilton College (NY) (52)	56	13	85/88	3 (71)		636 (38)	65	64	18	19 (37)
57.	Franklin Pierce College (NH) ((73)	55	30	51/49	-2 (128)		0 (111)	191	154	18	34 (7)
58.	Lycoming College (PA) (127)	55	25	59/67	8 (31)		0 (111)	148	150	18	21 (30)
59.	Blackburn College (IL) (187)	55	43	49/44	-5 (162)		0 (111)	164	173	18	87 (1)
60.	Juniata College (PA) (80)	55	24	68/74	7 (44)		314 (58)	75	123	18	16 (49)
61.	Agnes Scott College (GA) (44)	55	32	68/66	-3 (134)		129 (87)	101	87	18	34 (9)
62.	American Jewish University (CA) (43)	54	36	54/70	15 (5)		0 (111)	191	26	18	15 (58)
63.	Colorado College (25)	54	14	81/83	1 (98)		220 (68)	32	10	18	14 (65)
64.	Guilford College (NC) (69)	54	42	59/73	14 (6)		16 (106)	90	87	18	12 (93)
65.	Harvey Mudd College (CA) (17)	54	13	93/88	-6 (166)		1179 (18)	22	59	18	17 (43)
66.	Southwestern University (TX) (65)	54	16	75/78	3 (69)		0 (111)	53	91	18	18 (41)
67.	Denison University (OH) (104)	54	13	77/80	3 (75)		494 (44)	78	40	18	18 (40)
68.	Grinnell College (IA) (14)	54	15	86/87	1 (104)		0 (111)	10	2	18	7 (188)
69.	Bowdoin College (ME) (19)	53	13	88/94	6 (47)		0 (111)	35	19	18	10 (130)
70.	Macalester College (MN) (28)	53	15	84/85	0 (107)		197 (76)	11	12	18	7 (174)
71.	Gustavus Adolphus College (MN) (129)	53	17	70/76	6 (49)		201 (74)	38	104	18	7 (183)
72.	Albion College (MI) (120)	52	18	67/72	5 (50)		0 (111)	50	106	18	11 (115)
73.	Ohio Wesleyan University (96)	52	19	73/68	-5 (157)		402 (50)	71	118	18	26 (16)
74.	Muhlenberg College (PA) (179)	52	7	78/86	7 (38)		107 (90)	78	140	18	11 (117)
75.	St. Lawrence University (NY) (102)	52	20	68/75	7 (35)		0 (111)	98	128	18	14 (66)

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		OVERALL SCORE	% Students receiving Pell Grants	Pell Grant recipients graduation rate / Low-income graduation rate	Difference between predicted and actual graduation rates	SOCIAL MOBILITY	Research grant dollars in millions (rank)	Bachelor's to PhD rank	RESEARCH	Peace Corps rank	ROTC rank	% of federal work-study funds spent on service (rank)	SERVICE
76.	Susquehanna University (PA) (157)	52	15	68/79	11 (14)		58 (99)	134		111	18	11 (107)	
77.	Ripon College (WI) (55)	50	26	62/70	8 (33)		0 (111)	160		84	18	17 (42)	
78.	Coe College (IA) (130)	50	28	66/73	7 (37)		363 (52)	119		114	18	15 (62)	
79.	Skidmore College (NY) (93)	50	13	77/78	1 (103)		842 (25)	71		144	18	14 (74)	
80.	DePauw University (IN) (125)	49	11	76/79	3 (80)		30 (104)	44		35	18	10 (122)	
81.	Evergreen State College (The)* (WA) (47)	49	40	59/56	-3 (137)		1083 (20)	65		63	18	20 (31)	
82.	Lafayette College (PA) (98)	49	9	80/90	9 (19)		272 (63)	90		133	18	7 (177)	
83.	Bridgewater College (VA) (184)	49	23	60/68	8 (27)		620 (39)	110		151	18	7 (173)	
84.	Kalamazoo College (MI) (53)	48	9	80/81	0 (114)		204 (71)	27		15	18	7 (183)	
85.	University of the South, Sewanee (TN) (71)	48	12	77/82	5 (56)		0 (111)	60		13	18	10 (124)	
86.	Bennett College (NC) (70)	48	68	25/37	12 (12)		0 (111)	101		173	18	10 (127)	
87.	Davidson College (NC) (57)	47	8	87/87	0 (119)		240 (64)	26		28	18	7 (170)	
88.	Centre College (KY) (136)	47	15	75/79	5 (55)		75 (98)	78		130	18	11 (113)	
89.	Wittenberg University (OH) (118)	46	21	64/65	1 (101)		0 (111)	60		14	18	12 (90)	
90.	Wesleyan College (GA) (85)	46	48	54/45	-9 (174)		891 (23)	178		173	18	35 (5)	
91.	Augustana College (IL) (141)	46	17	73/76	3 (70)		0 (111)	98		162	18	14 (69)	
92.	Lyon College (AR) (76)	45	46	59/68	9 (22)		325 (57)	178		126	18	16 (55)	
93.	St. Anselm College (NH) (167)	45	15	66/75	8 (26)		0 (111)	134		108	18	8 (151)	
94.	Allegheny College (PA) (113)	45	21	73/73	0 (108)		33 (102)	39		143	18	10 (125)	
95.	Kenyon College (OH) (78)	45	7	86/83	-3 (135)		314 (58)	32		18	18	9 (138)	
96.	Willamette University (OR) (81)	45	21	73/74	1 (99)		0 (111)	119		142	18	19 (32)	
97.	Birmingham Southern College (AL) (148)	45	13	73/69	-3 (139)		833 (26)	78		121	18	15 (63)	
98.	Trinity College (CT) (88)	45	13	82/85	3 (76)		455 (48)	60		116	18	8 (152)	
99.	Sarah Lawrence (NY) (139)	45	12	77/73	-3 (138)		137 (86)	53		166	18	16 (56)	
100.	Nebraska Wesleyan University (160)	44	26	61/69	8 (25)		0 (111)	110		120	18	7 (175)	
101.	Hampshire College (MA) (72)	44	19	76/72	-4 (155)		203 (72)	40		53	18	15 (61)	
102.	College of Wooster (The) (OH) (99)	44	15	75/75	1 (105)		208 (69)	32		37	18	4 (197)	
103.	Gettysburg College (PA) (156)	44	12	80/79	-1 (123)		329 (56)	60		83	18	12 (91)	
104.	Lawrence University (WI) (82)	43	21	74/76	2 (87)		0 (111)	47		29	18	8 (153)	
105.	Lewis & Clark College (OR) (61)	43	18	78/71	-7 (169)		225 (66)	65		8	18	22 (23)	
106.	Reed College (OR) (24)	43	18	85/73	-12 (182)		1087 (19)	17		20	18	12 (94)	
107.	Moravian College (PA) (190)	43	18	68/71	3 (73)		0 (111)	110		157	18	11 (98)	
108.	Albright College (PA) (162)	43	28	57/57	0 (111)		567 (40)	110		159	18	13 (86)	
109.	King College (TN) (185)	42	37	53/61	8 (29)		0 (111)	101		146	18	7 (176)	
110.	Muskingum College (OH) (163)	42	31	54/64	10 (16)		0 (111)	187		170	18	7 (180)	
111.	Union College (NY) (68)	42	15	77/85	8 (32)		355 (55)	178		115	16	7 (188)	
112.	Eastern Mennonite University (VA) (147)	41	27	62/67	5 (52)		0 (111)	119		94	18	10 (129)	
113.	Pine Manor College (MA) (58)	41	63	29/39	10 (18)		0 (111)	191		173	18	11 (100)	
114.	Illinois Wesleyan University (153)	41	10	80/82	1 (95)		205 (70)	65		98	18	7 (182)	
115.	Hiram College (OH) (74)	41	35	56/64	8 (28)		0 (111)	125		23	18	7 (167)	
116.	Cornell College (IA) (145)	41	25	68/67	-1 (122)		1261 (17)	110		136	18	10 (119)	
117.	Whittier College (CA) (165)	40	30	58/57	-1 (126)		176 (80)	134		66	18	17 (44)	

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	OVERALL SCORE	SOCIAL MOBILITY				RESEARCH		SERVICE		
		Academic reputation (Peer assessment)	The number of students who graduate or transfer to a PhD program, and receiving Nobels	Difference between predicted and actual grad rates (rank)		Research grant dollars in millions (rank)	Bachelor's to PhD rank	Peace Corps rank	ROTC rank	% of federal work-study funds spent on service (rank)
118. Eckerd College (FL) (79)	40	33	61/63	2 (90)		537 (42)	71	30	18	7 (188)
119. McDaniel College (MD) (154)	40	17	65/74	9 (24)		0 (111)	191	173	18	7 (183)
120. Erskine College (SC) (94)	40	27	62/65	3 (66)		0 (111)	125	48	18	11 (110)
121. University of Puget Sound (WA) (95)	39	14	77/73	-4 (142)		282 (62)	40	7	18	8 (166)
122. Beloit College (WI) (56)	39	17	76/71	-4 (154)		0 (111)	60	6	18	14 (68)
123. Ursinus College (PA) (123)	38	21	72/75	4 (63)		165 (82)	98	149	18	7 (188)
124. Bard College (NY) (150)	38	15	83/72	-11 (181)		2399 (8)	48	74	18	8 (158)
125. Wofford College (SC) (29)	38	16	76/78	2 (92)		0 (111)	101	137	18	10 (132)
126. Monmouth College (NJ) (168)	38	31	58/65	7 (42)		0 (111)	164	165	18	7 (169)
127. Virginia Union University (138)	37	57	25/31	6 (48)		0 (111)	164	173	18	8 (155)
128. Transylvania University (KY) (164)	37	19	69/65	-4 (153)		0 (111)	101	135	18	16 (51)
129. Roanoke College (VA) (171)	37	19	65/65	0 (113)		82 (95)	90	82	18	8 (162)
130. Millsaps College (MS) (112)	37	24	70/71	1 (102)		0 (111)	83	173	18	9 (139)
131. Austin College (TX) (111)	37	23	74/76	2 (93)		173 (81)	90	89	18	9 (145)
132. Gordon College (MA) (142)	37	22	71/74	3 (78)		0 (111)	125	69	18	10 (135)
133. Wheaton College (MA) (155)	37	15	75/75	0 (112)		0 (111)	119	27	18	11 (108)
134. Hastings College (NE) (149)	37	30	58/62	4 (60)		0 (111)	134	160	18	8 (156)
135. Randolph-Macon Woman's College (VA) (66)	36	31	65/63	-2 (129)		0 (111)	160	22	18	18 (38)
136. Lake Forest College (IL) (146)	36	27	66/70	3 (68)		307 (60)	134	91	18	7 (188)
137. Wells College (NY) (30)	36	47	55/58	4 (62)		0 (111)	148	45	18	12 (92)
138. Houghton College (NY) (101)	36	35	64/64	0 (109)		810 (27)	101	100	18	8 (163)
139. Drew University (NJ) (143)	35	15	73/73	0 (110)		0 (111)	65	110	18	4 (196)
140. William Jewell College (MO) (186)	35	18	69/65	-5 (156)		0 (111)	83	54	18	12 (88)
141. Rhodes College (TN) (119)	35	10	79/80	1 (100)		199 (75)	65	47	18	2 (198)
142. Richard Stockton College of New Jersey (The) (173)	35	14	67/62	-5 (163)		0 (111)	110	172	18	13 (76)
143. St. Mary's College of Maryland* (110)	34	13	76/72	-4 (151)		0 (111)	90	16	17	10 (131)
144. Westmont College (CA) (151)	34	12	76/72	-4 (146)		15 (107)	134	72	18	14 (71)
145. University of Minnesota, Morris* (176)	34	25	64/55	-9 (173)		0 (111)	78	103	18	17 (45)
146. Scripps College (CA) (134)	33	14	85/84	-1 (124)		14 (108)	83	73	18	8 (150)
147. St. Andrews Presbyterian College (NC) (178)	33	34	54/44	-10 (178)		0 (111)	134	99	18	23 (21)
148. Olivet College (MI) (108)	33	53	47/39	-8 (170)		0 (111)	164	173	18	25 (18)
149. Washington College (MD) (192)	33	8	72/68	-4 (147)		0 (111)	148	93	18	12 (95)
150. Hollins University (VA) (100)	33	34	61/61	0 (118)		0 (111)	125	46	18	11 (106)
151. West Virginia Wesleyan College (166)	33	29	57/53	-4 (149)		8 (110)	125	102	18	13 (78)
152. Randolph-Macon College (VA) (201)	33	13	66/65	-1 (125)		0 (111)	134	134	18	7 (178)
153. Fort Lewis College* (CO) (188)	32	29	51/28	-24 (200)		78 (96)	110	129	18	34 (7)
154. Hartwick College (NY) (124)	32	29	63/55	-8 (171)		0 (111)	90	125	18	17 (46)
155. Sweet Briar College (VA) (158)	32	13	69/67	-2 (127)		383 (51)	164	17	18	7 (171)
156. Albertson's College (ID) (54)	32	28	66/55	-11 (179)		149 (84)	178	21	18	24 (19)
157. Adrian College (MI) (175)	32	32	53/49	-4 (145)		0 (111)	164	173	18	14 (67)
158. Lees-McRae College (NC) (140)	32	35	51/28	-23 (199)		0 (111)	191	173	18	43 (2)
159. Oglethorpe University (GA)(115)	31	31	60/60	0 (120)		0 (111)	191	158	18	13 (85)

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	OVERALL SCORE				SOCIAL MOBILITY		RESEARCH		SERVICE	
		Student-to-faculty ratio	Predicted-to-actual graduation rate	Pell recipients' graduation rate	Research grant dollars in millions (rank)	Bachelor's to PhD rank	Peace Corps rank	ROTC rank	% of federal work-study funds spent on service (rank)
160. Emory and Henry College (VA) (172)	31	29	58/52	-6 (164)	0 (111)	119	86	18	13 (84)
161. University of Maine, Presque Isle* (199)	31	39	43/39	-4 (143)	0 (111)	187	173	18	14 (73)
162. Paine College (GA) (109)	30	73	24/28	4 (61)	36 (101)	148	173	18	7 (167)
163. Hendrix College (AR) (40)	30	21	73/61	-13 (186)	85 (94)	53	173	18	16 (57)
164. Schreiner University (TX) (122)	29	55	41/36	-5 (161)	0 (111)	191	173	18	19 (36)
165. College of the Atlantic (ME) (89)	29	34	66/62	-4 (148)	467 (45)	178	56	18	14 (71)
166. Goshen College (IN) (126)	29	27	66/62	-4 (152)	0 (111)	90	156	18	9 (148)
167. Georgetown College (KY) (170)	29	22	62/58	-4 (144)	0 (111)	148	173	18	10 (133)
168. University of Virginia, Wise* (193)	29	38	49/43	-6 (165)	0 (111)	148	173	18	13 (79)
169. St. John's College (MD) (51)	29	22	80/74	-6 (167)	0 (111)	83	4	18	12 (96)
170. Warner Pacific College (OR) (103)	29	52	47/50	3 (77)	0 (111)	191	173	18	9 (144)
171. Wabash College (IN) (133)	29	21	70/70	0 (116)	124 (89)	75	9	18	0 (201)
172. University of Hawaii (Hilo)* (152)	28	43	51/31	-20 (196)	7559 (2)	134	139	18	11 (99)
173. Greensboro College (NC) (189)	28	32	50/46	-4 (150)	0 (111)	187	77	18	11 (102)
174. Pitzer College (CA) (91)	27	16	75/70	-5 (160)	150 (83)	101	80	18	7 (188)
175. Westminster College (MO) (195)	27	22	65/61	-4 (141)	0 (111)	148	155	18	8 (159)
176. Lane College (TN) (116)	27	88	30/38	7 (36)	0 (111)	178	173	18	7 (171)
177. Rosemont College (PA) (180)	26	27	60/62	2 (82)	0 (111)	164	173	18	1 (199)
178. Salem College (NC) (92)	25	48	55/52	-3 (133)	0 (111)	178	113	18	12 (87)
179. Chatham College (PA) (144)	25	30	62/57	-5 (159)	0 (111)	148	141	18	10 (134)
180. Goucher College (MD) (159)	25	14	73/64	-9 (176)	126 (88)	101	122	18	9 (141)
181. Tougaloo College (MS) (18)	24	76	42/42	0 (117)	757 (32)	125	173	18	7 (179)
182. University of Dallas (TX) (135)	24	19	74/65	-9 (172)	0 (111)	83	76	18	8 (160)
183. California State University, Monterey Bay* (114)	23	38	47/32	-14 (189)	1727 (13)	191	163	18	11 (111)
184. Hampden-Sydney College (VA) (169)	22	10	72/62	-10 (177)	0 (111)	134	131	18	8 (157)
185. Massachusetts College of Liberal Arts* (196)	22	32	55/47	-7 (168)	0 (111)	164	173	18	9 (143)
186. Huntingdon College (AL) (117)	21	34	55/44	-11 (180)	0 (111)	164	101	18	14 (69)
187. University of North Carolina, Asheville* (194)	20	23	69/53	-16 (191)	360 (54)	53	117	18	8 (154)
188. Mesa State College* (AZ) (174)	19	37	48/28	-21 (197)	105 (91)	148	95	18	21 (27)
189. Marlboro College (VT) (161)	18	31	69/56	-13 (185)	0 (111)	178	105	18	16 (50)
190. Coastal Carolina University* (SC) (183)	18	28	56/43	-13 (187)	78 (96)	125	169	18	9 (140)
191. Stephens College (MO) (84)	18	28	61/52	-9 (175)	54 (100)	164	51	18	8 (161)
192. Antioch College (OH) (48)	14	46	64/50	-14 (188)	225 (66)	110	138	18	11 (105)
193. Western State College of Colorado* (202)	12	24	53/36	-17 (193)	0 (111)	164	153	18	9 (136)
194. Bennington College (VT) (83)	11	27	72/60	-12 (183)	0 (111)	164	78	18	8 (164)
195. Marymount Manhattan College (NY) (197)	9	24	61/42	-18 (194)	0 (111)	164	127	18	9 (142)
196. Christopher Newport University* (VA)(198)	7	15	69/45	-24 (201)	177 (79)	125	171	18	11 (103)
197. Lindsey Wilson College (KY) (182)	7	66	35/23	-12 (184)	0 (111)	191	173	18	9 (146)
198. Virginia Wesleyan College (200)	7	25	55/37	-19 (195)	0 (111)	164	147	18	7 (183)
199. Shawnee College* (IL) (87)	6	57	40/24	-16 (192)	0 (111)	191	173	18	10 (120)
200. St. John's College (NM) (137)	5	31	77/55	-22 (198)	0 (111)	148	5	18	14 (64)
201. Bethel College (TN) (59)	0	78	45/29	-16 (190)	24 (105)	119	173	18	7 (180)

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A NOTE ON METHODOLOGY

There are two primary goals to our methodology. First, we considered no single category to be more important than any other. Second, the final rankings needed to reflect excellence across the full breadth of our measures, rather than reward an exceptionally high focus on, say, research. All categories were weighted equally when calculating the final score. In order to ensure that each measurement contributed equally to a school's score in any given category, we standardized each data set so that each had a mean of zero and a standard deviation of one. The data were also adjusted to account for statistical outliers. No school's performance in any single area was allowed to exceed three standard deviations from the mean of the data set. Thanks to rounding, the top few schools in each category have a final score that is displayed as 100. We have ranked them according to their pre-rounding results.

Each of our three categories includes several components. We have determined the community service score by measuring each school's performance in three different areas: the size of its Army and Navy Reserve Officer Training Corps programs relative to the size of the school; the percentage of its alumni currently serving in the Peace Corps; and the percentage of its federal work-study grant money spent on community service projects.

A school's research score is also based on three measurements: the total amount of an institution's research spending (according to the National Science Foundation); the number of science and engineering PhDs awarded by the university; and the number of undergraduate alumni who have gone on to receive a PhD in any subject. For national universities, we weighted each of these components equally to determine a school's final score in the category. For liberal arts colleges, which do not grant doctorates, baccalaureate PhDs were given double weight. As some readers pointed out last year, our research score rewards large schools for their size. This is intentional. It is the huge numbers of scientists, engineers, and PhDs that larger universities produce, combined with their enormous amounts of research spending, that will help keep America competitive in an increasingly global economy.

The social mobility score is more complicated. We have data that tells us the percentage of a school's students on Pell Grants, which is a good measure of a school's commitment to educating lower-income kids. But, while we'd also like to know how many of these students graduate, schools aren't required to track those figures. Still, because lower-income students at any school are less likely to graduate than wealthier ones, the percentage of Pell Grant recipients is a meaningful indicator in and of itself. If a campus has a large percentage of Pell Grant students—that is to say, if its student body is disproportionately poor—it will tend to diminish the school's overall graduation rate.

We have a formula that predicts the graduation rate of the average school given its percentage of Pell students and its average SAT score. (Since most schools only provide the 25th percentile and the 75th percentile of scores, we took the mean of the two.) Schools with graduation rates that are higher than the "average" school with similar stats score better than schools that match or, worse, undershoot the mark. Four schools had comparatively low Pell Grant rates and comparatively high SAT scores, and had predicted graduation rates of over 100 percent. We left these results alone to keep the metric consistent. In addition, we used a second metric that predicted the percentage of students on Pell Grants based on SAT scores. This indicated which selective universities (since selectivity is highly correlated with SAT scores) are making the effort to enroll low-income students. The two formulas were weighted equally.—*Eds.* WM

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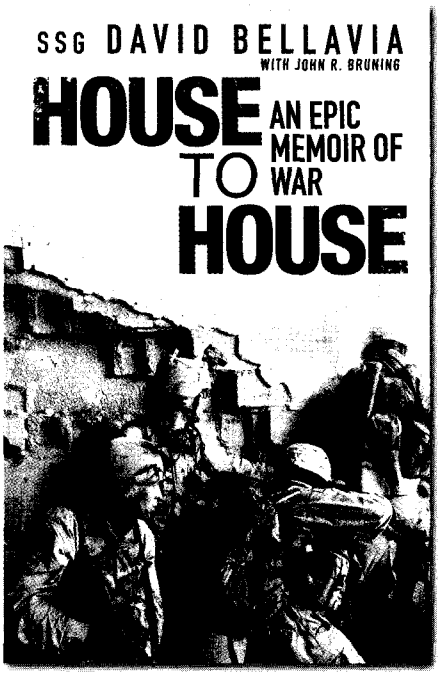
A Knife Under the Collarbone

Most soldiers in Iraq battle faceless IEDs. But in Fallujah, the fighting was hand to hand.

by Clint Douglas



House to House: An Epic Memoir of War

by David Bellavia with John R. Bruning
Free Press, 336 pp.

The Germans called it *Rattenkrieg*, the war of the rats. That was how the embittered—and ultimately doomed—troops of the Wehrmacht came to view the battle of Stalingrad in 1942. Used to Blitzkrieging their way across the open steppes of Russia, they were horrified to find themselves locked in desperate urban combat that nullified their tactical and technological advantages. The fight devolved into close-quarter, small-unit infantry battles that raged across the city and down into the sewers. No structure, no pile of rubble was left uncontested. The belligerents could occupy different floors of the same building. The struggle was close and personal. Prolonged and vicious fights for the control of individual rooms were commonplace, as was hand-to-hand combat. No quarter was given; none was expected.

Little has changed, according to David Bellavia, the author of *House to House*, his new memoir of the second battle of Fallujah in November 2004. Bellavia, then a staff sergeant in the 1st Infantry Division—the famous "Big Red One"—led a mechanized infantry squad through the entire battle. His description of the confused and claustrophobic fight for Fallujah is the stuff of nightmares and horrors so vivid and medieval as to make even the most jaded shudder. As if the picture of men butchering other men weren't enough, we have the image of the packs of feral dogs that devour the putrefying corpses of the fallen insurgents.

Enemy insurgents are, mostly if not entirely, jihadis bent on a glorious, purifying death. They are cavalier with their lives, but plenty of them are tenacious and experienced guerrilla fighters. Many are high on amphetamines, making them more aggressive and difficult to kill. They have had time to prepare the battlefield, and many of the buildings contain bunkers and fighting positions. Booby traps abound, from almost-invisible trip wires anchored to grenades to elaborate schemes involving propane tanks and plastic explosives, designed to collapse whole buildings, if not neighborhoods. Aware of U.S. tactics, the insurgents brick up the stairwells to deprive the Americans access to any commanding rooftop heights. They block off hallways and entrances so as to channel the American advance into prepared kill zones. They preregister their mortars, setting them up in advance for the deadliest effect, and snipers are everywhere. The insurgents flow through gaps in the American line and reemerge from areas that have just been cleared. The fighting is 360 degrees. Bellavia and his men find themselves surrounded and on the verge of being overrun on more than one occasion.

The bombed-out husk of the city is covered in sewage and bacteria. Any cut, scrape, or wound is instantly infected. Dysentery is so pervasive and the fighting so intense that men must endure the indignity of shitting in their pants. Bellavia's diarrhea is so severe at one point that he plugs his leaking rectum with a strip of cloth torn from his T-shirt. During a moment that passes for an illusory lull in the fighting, the author muses, "The mortars fall. The man-eating dogs bay. The night never ends." Never ends, indeed.

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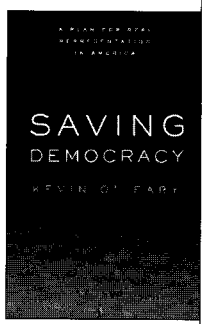
Reinventing American Democracy

Saving Democracy
A Plan for Real Representation in America

KEVIN O'LEARY



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If war is hell, then this is something worse. And these are only the mundane facts of the battle.

What is truly extraordinary is Bellavia himself, which is something of an accomplishment given the immense bravery of his comrades. To name just one: Colin Fitts, another squad leader and Bellavia's best friend, is shot three times during fighting with Shiite insurgents in Diyala Province in the spring of 2004. Fitts rushes back to his unit only partly recovered, knowing full well that the battle is coming in Fallujah and that he will be leading his men into a meat grinder.

What sets Bellavia apart is illustrated in an incident that takes place one night in battle, when he kills six insurgents single-handedly. During an attempt to clear a large compound, Bellavia and his men become pinned down from a concealed and fortified fighting position within the house they are attempting to take. While Bellavia succeeds in finally extricating his men, he fails to take out the enemy machine gunners when he has the opportunity and barely escapes with his life. Back outside the compound his men are no better off, taking fire from multiple directions, and despair starts to settle in. "Oh fuck, we're all going to die," exclaims one as bullets land all around them. Bellavia decides to reenter the compound (accompanied by embedded Australian war correspondent Michael Ware), and cobbles together a small group of soldiers to go back in. But Bellavia quickly becomes separated from them and proceeds alone.

What follows is an odyssey through Hades. Bellavia gropes his way through the dark, trash-strewn building, killing the insurgents one by one. In a particularly harrowing scene he exchanges insults with one as they hunt each other though the maze, which is so Stygian that his night-vision goggles become useless. "I will kill you and take your dog collar" and "I'll cut your head off" are hissed at Bellavia in thickly accented English from the other side of a wall. He kills another man in brutal hand-to-hand combat, which ends when Bellavia plunges his knife under his adversary's collarbone.

While Bellavia has been awarded both the Silver and Bronze Stars, and has been nominated for the Medal of Honor, none of his experience is described in an ostentatious or high-flown manner. Instead, he writes in the tone of a man who's passed physical and mental exhaustion and is fighting for his survival. The bloody murderousness of these scenes will stick with me for the rest of my life. Anyone who still needs to be disabused of the notion that it's easy to kill a man will find these passages illuminating.

House to House is a remarkable story told by a genuine hero. I use the word *hero* reluctantly, as it is now applied so liberally. True valor is a rare thing, and this book goes a long way in reminding the reader about what the real article is.

Anyone who still needs to be disabused of the notion that it's easy to kill a man will find these passages illuminating.

That said, *House to House*, riveting as it is, doesn't translate into a great book. Bellavia can't stop editorializing, and his voice is a distraction from the story he's trying to tell. For example, he writes of one soldier who is wounded during one particularly dire engagement, taking shrapnel to his penis and scrotum. The soldier ignores his wounds and stays at his position, pouring lead onto the enemy, and nearly bleeds to death before finally admitting that he's wounded. "He might have lost his manhood," Bellavia writes, "but he doesn't moan. He endures. He's a man ... Pratt tries to retain his dignity by conquering his pain with remarkable self-restraint. He doesn't complain. He doesn't scream. He takes it. *This kid is a fucking stud.*" I know that Pratt is both a man and a stud. Telling me again, in case I haven't been paying attention, doesn't help. If anything, it robs the kid of his grace, his selflessness, and his fidelity.

Sadly, writing like this is common in *House to House*, and many scenes are near-

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ly ruined because of it. While it is at first refreshing to hear a man unrepentantly mutter the lines "I was once a meek boy with a coward's heart. Not here. Not anymore. Now I am a lost soul with hell on his shoulders. *And I am coming*," it becomes grating with repetition, and the narrative loses much of its thrust.

Exclamatory language does not make the writing more masculine, and does a disservice to the reader by constantly hitting him over the head, when the story is so compelling and Bellavia so remarkable. Whether the fault for this lies with Bellavia, his coauthor John R. Bruning, or the editors at Free Press is unclear, but it is unfortunate. Relief only comes with the battle of Fallujah, when there is so much going on that the author doesn't have time to interject often.

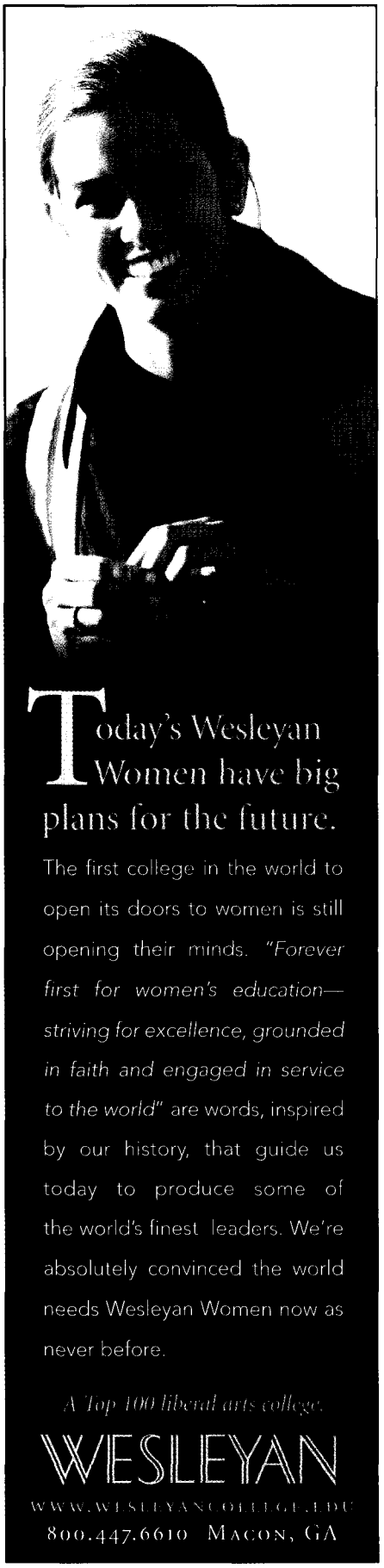
There's another problem within this book, and it has less to do with the telling of the story than what lies at the heart of it. Bellavia deeply believes in the cause for which he and his comrades fought, and wants the reader to believe too. "Fallujah will never be just another battlefield," he writes in the book's closing pages. "It was here that we fought for hope." And yet the reader of *House to House* is left with nagging questions: What was gained in Fallujah? What did all of the blood and sacrifice accomplish within the larger context of the war? We won the battle of Fallujah, but how did this advance American objectives in Iraq? How did it fit into a greater strategy?

The answer to this last question, of course, is that it didn't. There *was* no comprehensive strategy. The first battle of Fallujah (dubbed by some Marines who fought in it as "Operation Just Kidding") was halted prematurely, making the Americans appear both weak and irresolute. In the second battle—the one in which Bellavia and his men fought—the city was effectively razed, but that still didn't mark a positive turning point in the conflict. Many of the insurgents, who'd based themselves in Fallujah, simply pulled out before the American onslaught and went on to spread the insurgency elsewhere in the country. The vast majority of American forces arrayed for the operation were ordered back to their sprawling bases afterward. The military failed to secure the population, and the occupation continued much as it had before.

In retrospect we know why. We were fighting insurgents in exactly the wrong way; you do not beat an insurgency by destroying a whole city. At one point in the fighting Bellavia notes, "We don't give a shit about stirring up the locals; as far as we're concerned, they're already stirred up. Using maximum force is exactly what we want to do." This may be an appropriate sentiment for an infantry NCO, but it is exactly the wrong strategy to win a guerilla war. I shed no tears for the deaths of jihadis anywhere; indeed, it was my pleasure to chase them around the mountains of eastern Afghanistan in 2003. But if we're not fighting for the locals, then why the hell are we there?

We finally have a general in command in Iraq, David Petraeus, who literally wrote the book on counterinsurgency. American strategy has changed at last. The extra troops in the "surge" have provided security for many Iraqis and forestalled at least some sectarian killings. Progress has been made in recruiting Baathist insurgents to fight al-Qaeda. Al-Anbar Province, once the heart of the insurgency, is increasingly quiet, in part because we are now arming the very insurgents who were shooting at us. Our armed forces have learned from the mistakes of the past. But is it all too late? The American public is tired of the war in Iraq, and the Bush administration no longer has any credibility. There is broad agreement that the additional troop levels cannot be maintained for long. The overall Sunni-Shiite divide has never been deeper, and ethnic cleansing continues. We are finding ourselves backing both sides in a civil war. A political compromise between the factions remains as elusive as ever, and the Shiite-led government is only marginally better than dysfunctional. And as I write this, the Iraqi parliament is on vacation, while American soldiers continue to fight and die. WM

Clint Douglas was a staff sergeant in the 20th Special Forces Group (Airborne). His last piece for the *Washington Monthly* was "Elect More Jim Webbs," June 2007.



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Who's the Boss?

Forget neocons and theocons. It's the money-cons who really run Bush's Republican Party.

By Kevin Drum

The Big Con: The True Story of How Washington Got Hoodwinked and Hijacked by Crackpot Economics

by Jonathan Chait
Houghton Mifflin, 304 pp.

Missionary or mercenary? Put more plainly, what is George Bush at his core: a creature of the Christian right or a dutiful retainer of the millionaire's boys club? Jon Chait, a senior editor at the *New Republic*, takes on this question in *The Big Con*, but only to dismiss it almost immediately. George Bush, he says, is an avatar of the modern Republican Party, and Chait has little doubt what today's GOP really cares about:

> *American politics has been hijacked by a tiny coterie of right-wing economic extremists, some of them ideological zealots, others merely greedy, a few of them possibly insane ... The scope of their triumph is breathtaking. Over the course of the last three decades, they have moved from the right-wing fringe to the commanding heights of the national agenda.*

And the Christian right? They're being conned along with the rest of us: "Republican leaders have persistently declined to expend political capital on behalf of social conservative causes," Chait says. They pretend to care about abortion and gay marriage, but all you have to do is compare the amount of energy Bush expended on a proposed same-sex marriage ban (a few hours) to the energy he expended on privatizing Social Security (several months), and the party's real priorities become pretty clear.

So: mercenary it is. And this, I think, is what saves *The Big Con* from being just another dreary addition to the growing pile of books telling us what's wrong with George Bush and the modern Republican Party. There are at least ten or twenty entries in this sweepstakes already (mostly by liberals but with disillusioned conservatives working hard to catch up), and the bill of particulars gets pretty monotonous after you've read a handful of them.

So the honest truth is that if you've already read a few of these books (I've probably cracked open a dozen or so), or if you spend a lot of time in the blogosphere (it adds up to about sixty hours a week for me), you probably aren't going to learn very much new from *The Big Con*. But if you haven't, and you're only going to read one book in this genre, this is the one.

Before I explain why, I should probably lay my reviewing prejudices on the table. After six years of following the Bush administration with probably unhealthy intensity, I've come to a couple of conclusions. First, as much as the Christian right sets my teeth on edge—and oh man, do they set my teeth on edge—I've become less and less convinced that they have as much influence over the Republican Party as we secular humanist types often fear. Sure, they get plenty of symbolic bones tossed their way (abortion funding overseas, Plan B mischief, and so on), but in terms of big, substantive policy changes, they haven't exactly been winning political battles left and right, have they? Basically, they get bought off with Supreme Court appointments, and since John Paul Stevens has remained improbably hale and hearty and the next president seems likely to be a Democrat, they're probably never going to reach their Holy Grail: a court willing to overturn *Roe v. Wade*. Howling about this, along with continuing to fight their losing war against gay people, will probably keep them occupied in impotent (but lucrative) rage for the next decade or so.

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Second, George Bush has not turned our country into Amerika. This case is a little harder to make, since there's no question that he and Dick Cheney have pursued a relentless policy of using 9/11 as an excuse to engineer ever more monarchal powers for the White House. Just to name a few: Bush routinely uses signing statements to gut laws he doesn't like but doesn't have the nerve to veto outright; the NSA is apparently data mining millions of phone calls without even a pretense at probable cause; and habeas corpus has been suspended for American citizens on Bush's mere say-so. Still, compared to the Palmer raids of the 1920s, the internment camps of the '40s, McCarthyism in the '50s, and COINTELPRO in the '60s, it's frankly remarkable that our national response to 9/11 has been as muted as it has. America may be a bit the worse for wear in the democracy department compared to six years ago, but it's still America.

If you think I'm crazy, I guess you can stop right here. But as odious as these things are, the truth is that fears of Bush the Fascist and Bush the Theocrat are little more than minstrel shows that distract us from truly taking notice of Bush the Plutocrat—and that's the Bush that really matters.

This, along with Chait's trademark take-no-prisoners writing style, is the great strength of *The Big Con*. Instead of providing a long laundry list of familiar Republican sins, Chait focuses on the four or five that really matter, all of them related because they're in service to one great primal sin: the by now almost complete subordination of the modern Republican Party to business interests and the rich.

Take supply-side economics. There are, it's true, a few honest supply-siders who are careful about what they say: namely that *some* tax cuts, under *some* circumstances, *if* they're matched by spending cuts, can *modestly* stimulate economic growth and pay for about *half* their cost in the *very* long term. But it was never sold this way, and more than a decade ago it lost even its original tenuous groundings in reality. Instead, it's become little more than a carnival barker's cure-all: *Cut taxes and the economy will boom!* There isn't a practicing economist in the country who believes this, but that hasn't stopped Republican primaries from becoming virtual meat markets where the candidates vie to outbid each other over their fealty to tax cuts today, tax cuts tomorrow, tax cuts forever.

Why? As Chait points out, the answer is simple if you don't mind being thought unsophisticated: Republicans do it not because it's defensible policy, but because tax cut jihadism is popular with both the rich donors and the corporate lobbying groups who contribute to their campaigns.

How do they get away with this? Chait rightly ascribes part of the answer to a second big modern Republican sin: their almost complete disregard for policy analysis. As John DiIulio famously discovered after working for Bush for only a few months back in 2001, Republicans simply don't care about actual problems anymore. There were, he told Ron Suskind, "not three meaningful, substantive policy discussions" held in his presence during his half year in the White House. Republicans, it turns out, have managed to fool themselves into believing that their war on taxes is a fully sufficient economic policy in the simplest possible way: by resolutely avoiding serious factual analysis that runs the risk of producing answers that business interests might find disagreeable. Analysis is for wimps who don't trust their guts (and their pocketbooks).

Chait zeroes in on something that gets little attention from the media itself: most reporters really don't care much about policy. In fact, they're often contemptuous of it.

What else? There's the post-Gingrich discovery by Republicans that an awful lot of what happens in Washington isn't governed by actual rules, but by mere traditions. Conference committees have always been appointed by leaders of both parties, but if the majority decides to appoint whomever it wants, it turns out that the minority can't actually do anything about it. Business lobbyists aren't supposed to act as surrogate whips for the congressional leadership, but it turns out there's no actual law against it. Mid-level bureaucrats and scientists have historically testified (honestly) when Congress calls on them, but it turns out that no regulation prevents political appointees from keeping them muzzled and providing bowdlerized testimony in their place.

All of these things serve a single purpose: passing business-friendly pork as efficiently and as quietly as possible. Tax bills, energy bills, Medicare prescription bills: all become mere vehicles for corporate largesse.

There's also the peculiar way in which Republicans publicly defend their policies: by talking like liberals. "Republicans simply can't win office or get their plans enacted into law, without fundamentally misleading the public," Chait says. "Lying has become a systematic necessity." The reason is obvious: if you sell tax cuts on their actual merits (i.e., they help Enron and Rupert Murdoch), no one will support you. Chait again: "If the Republicans had truly believed that the public shared their goals ... Businessmen would simply have come forward to proudly announce their support for the tax cuts, explaining that rewarding wealth and success would create a rising tide for one and all." But they didn't. Instead, after the 2000 election, Republicans sold their tax cuts first as a way of giving back the surplus to hardworking Americans; then as a way of fighting a recession; and finally as a way of making the tax code fairer to the poor. Any rationale would do except the real one.

And it's not just tax cuts. Business-friendly environmental policies are sold as "Healthy Forests" and "Clear Skies." Business-friendly legal policies are sold as a way to stop "lawsuit abuse." Business-friendly Medicare legislation is sold as a way of helping out Granny and Gramps. And the whole thing is sold

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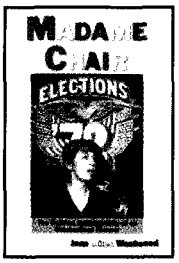

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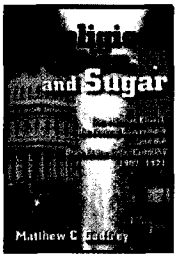

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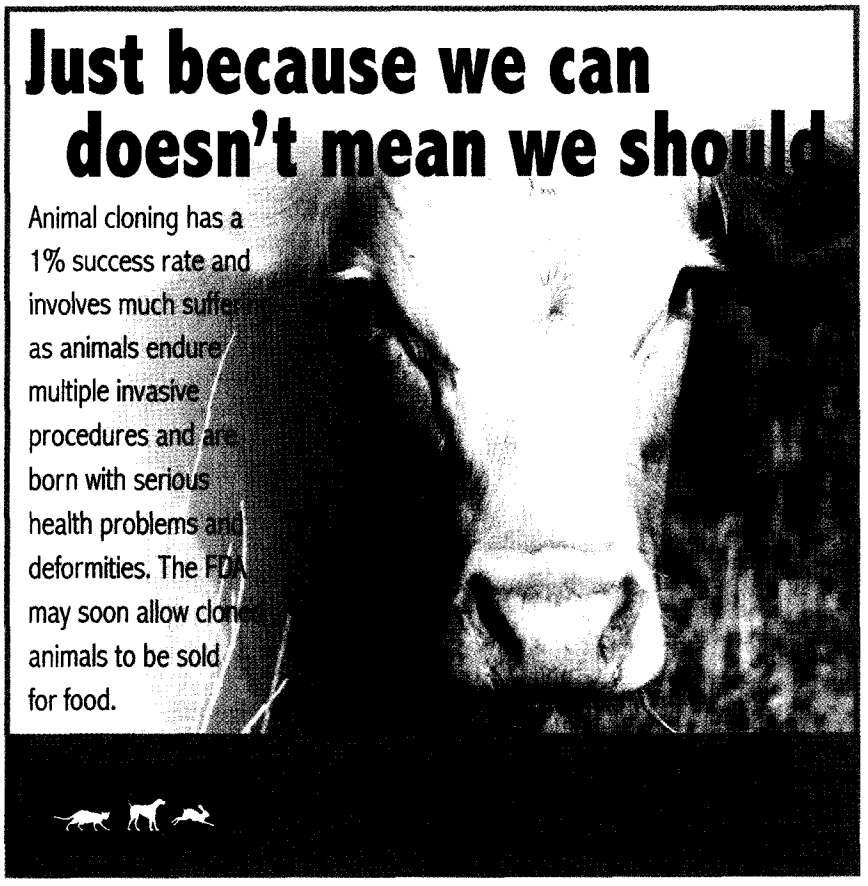

under the umbrella of "compassionate conservatism." It turns out that the only way to sell business-friendly conservative policies is to pretend they're actually liberal policies.

As Chait points out, however, Republicans could never have gotten away with this without some help from the media. It's not that members of the media support Republican policies—for the most part they don't—but that they're trained to assume that the "center" is a reasonable place to be, and that the center is the midpoint between the two parties. If one party becomes much more radical while the other becomes more moderate, the midpoint moves, and the media moves right along with it.

Chait also zeroes in on something else that gets little attention from the media itself: most reporters really don't care much about policy. In fact, they're often contemptuous of it. Rather, they care about personalities, "character," scandals, polling numbers, and backroom deal making. The result is that Republicans can engage in transparent class warfare with barely even a pretense at serious justification and the press either doesn't notice or doesn't really care. Policy is something for partisans to argue about, not a subject for the supposedly dispassionate press corps to get exercised about.

But eventually someone needs to notice that Republican policy is no longer rooted in any kind of recognizable conservative principle. Instead, it has become little more than a program of preventing the middle class from sharing in the gains of economic growth and divvying up the resulting loot among the richest of the rich. There is, unfortunately, no longer a more delicate way of explaining it. Let Chait have the last word: "The conservatives of today ... have redefined conservatism as an expression of their material self-interest, defined in the narrowest and most short-sighted terms. They have forgotten the lessons of their forebears, and if sanity is to be restored to our political order, they must relearn them." WM

Kevin Drum, contributing writer for the *Washington Monthly,* edits Political Animal at washingtonmonthly.com.

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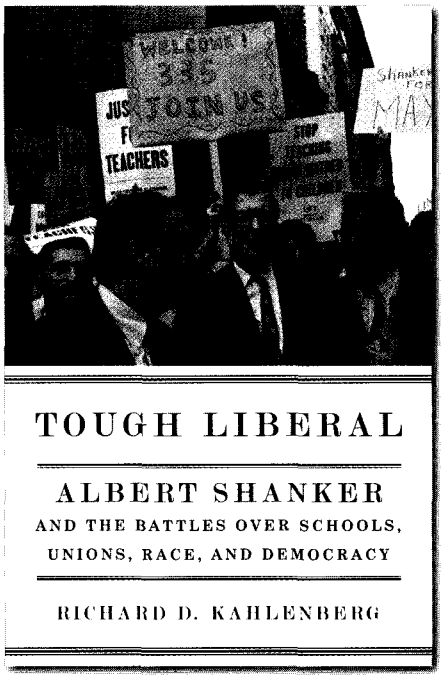
The Lone Changer

How Albert Shanker became a champion of education reform—but couldn't bring his union with him.

By Tim Noah



Tough Liberal: Albert Shanker and the Battles Over Schools, Unions, Race, and Democracy

by Richard D. Kahlenberg
Columbia University Press, 552 pp.

Albert Shanker, who died in 1997, was the last labor leader to command the nation's attention. Can you name the president of the United Auto Workers? I bet not. How about the president of the United Mine Workers? When I was introduced to a man named John Sweeney at a party a few years back I fell into a whirlpool of anxiety trying to place the name. We'd talked a full five minutes before I remembered he was president of the AFL-CIO. There's no chance I would have committed the same social blunder in the presence of George Meany, who ran the AFL-CIO from 1955 to 1979. Nor would I have fumbled over the names Walter Reuther (president of the United Auto Workers from 1946 to 1970) or John L. Lewis (president of the United Mine Workers from 1920 to 1960). Reuther and Lewis are major figures in American, not just labor, history. That likely won't be true for their latter-day successors, Ron Gettelfinger and Cecil Roberts.

Shanker made his presence known, first in New York City and later in the whole country. Now Richard D. Kahlenberg, an education scholar, has favored Shanker with a deservedly admiring biography, *Tough Liberal: Albert Shanker and the Battles Over Schools, Unions, Race, and Democracy*. The book explains thoroughly, though somewhat bloodlessly, why Shanker was an important figure both as a labor leader and as a leader in education policy. It also identifies Shanker as a significant (if controversial) figure in the tumultuous history of race relations during the 1960s.

Shanker initially came to the public's attention as the hard-charging president of New York's United Federation of Teachers, which he helped found in 1960. A mere seven years later, the UFT was the largest union local in the entire AFL-CIO. Under Shanker, UFT members acquired one of the first collectively bargained teacher contracts in the nation. That was in 1961. By 1973, both starting and maximum salaries had nearly doubled. In that year, a New York City teacher could earn a salary equivalent to $90,000 in 2007 dollars. Largely because of the UFT's success, national membership in teachers unions took off like a rocket through the 1960s.

Shanker's hometown fame reached its plateau in 1968 when he led three citywide teacher strikes against a semiautonomous school district straddling two adjacent ghetto neighborhoods in Brooklyn: Ocean Hill (a largely abandoned area within Bedford-Stuyvesant) and Brownsville (a more populous but similarly low-income neighborhood). The Ocean Hill–Brownsville conflict turned on the extent to which local neighborhoods could exercise control over schools. "Community control" was a bland-sounding but divisive liberal idea promoted by McGeorge Bundy, president of the Ford Foundation. Previously Bundy had been national security adviser to Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, in which capacity he'd advocated the swift escalation of U.S. troop presence in Vietnam. Possibly to expiate that sin, Bundy when he took the reins at the Ford Foundation reconciled himself publicly to black nationalism, a separatist doctrine that was displacing desegregation in the hearts of many blacks. The Ford Foundation, Bundy pledged, would "work with Negro leaders of good will and peaceful purpose without any anguished measurement of their position on the issue of a separated power of blackness as against the continuing claim to integration." New York City Mayor John Lindsay appointed Bundy chairman of a panel that called for decentralizing authority over the city schools, and the Ford Foundation

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Which line are you on?: Shanker with colleagues during a New York City teacher's strike

Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images

gave out $334,000 in grants to support a community control experiment in Ocean Hill–Brownsville.

Community control was a doctrine born of defeat. White flight was confounding attempts to integrate New York City schools racially, and the city lacked sufficient funds for the sort of massive increase in school spending that might make a difference. Recognizing this, Lindsay and Bundy bowed to demands from local black leaders that low-income black neighborhoods be granted greater freedom to improve schools on their own. The trouble was that these newly empowered grassroots school boards were highly susceptible to takeover by fringe groups. It was the same problem then bedeviling Lyndon Johnson's Office of Economic Opportunity, the agency created to wage the War on Poverty, which sought "maximum feasible participation" at the ground level. In the schools, though, a powerful constituency (teachers) was able to push back. In Ocean Hill–Brownsville, militants (led by a man who would later pronounce that "violent revolution is necessary to have America's public institutions serve all its people") gained control of the school board and began firing all the white teachers and replacing them with black teachers. Shanker pronounced this discriminatory and unacceptable; some of his opponents hurled back anti-Semitic smears (many of the white teachers were Jewish); and Shanker, perhaps rashly, made sure the smears received wide publicity. What began as a labor dispute devolved into a war between blacks and Jews "that lacerated the city and left wounds that have never fully healed," *New York Times* reporter Steven R. Weisman would recall three decades later. Weisman's judgment of Shanker for stirring the pot is much harsher than that of Kahlenberg, who sees Shanker as the episode's hero. I lean more toward Kahlenberg's view than Weisman's, but Kahlenberg's account would feel richer if it explored more fully the feelings on both sides. Ocean Hill–Brownsville was, among other things, the incubator in which neoconservatism began to evolve; Norman Podhoretz, then still a liberal, saw in the conflict "the formation of a new alliance between the patriciate [Bundy was a

When the Democratic Leadership Council was created in 1985, Shanker admired its hawkish foreign policy but was put off by its arms-length distance from the labor movement.

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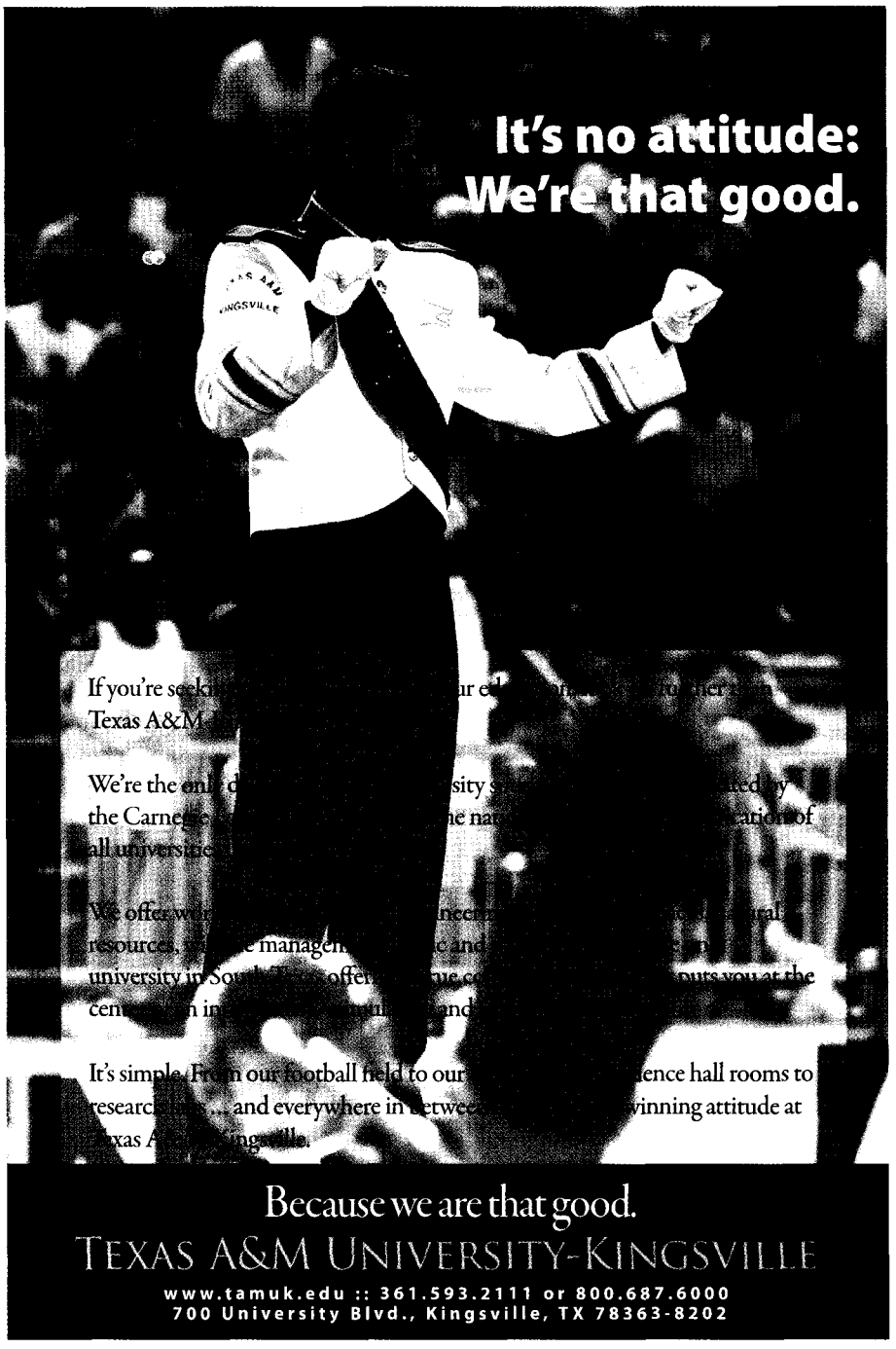
Boston Brahmin and onetime dean of Harvard College] and the underclass against the liberal center."

Shanker himself never became a neoconservative. After successfully reinstating the fired teachers—the community control scheme lingered, in watered-down form, until Mayor Michael Bloomberg put it out of its misery five years ago—Shanker remained, as Kahlenberg terms him, a "tough liberal," committed to economic equality and civil rights but opposed to racial quotas and communism. In the cultish parlance of the left, Shanker was a Schachtmanite democratic socialist who stood a whisker to the right of DSOC (pronounced *Dee-sock*, which stood for Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee; later it was reconstituted as the Democratic Socialists of America). In the early 1970s, Shanker joined the Coalition for a Democratic Majority (CDM), which was created in opposition to the Democratic Party's ill-defined McGovernite wing. By the early 1980s virtually all the CDMers concluded that the McGovernites had swallowed the Democratic Party whole and switched their allegiance to the GOP. Not Shanker. When the Democratic Leadership Council was created in 1985, Shanker admired its hawkish foreign policy but was put off by its arms-length distance from the labor movement. A persistent theme in this book is that tough liberals today have no place to call home.

Kahlenberg devotes too much of *Tough Liberal* to charting Shanker's steady course through these choppy ideological waters. I don't dispute that the subtle ideological distinctions that Kahlenberg delineates possess significance, but they matter less in Shanker's case because his influence never extended beyond the field of education. Kahlenberg dwells on them, I think, partly for structural reasons. After Ocean Hill–Brownsville, fifteen long years passed before the labor activist's second act, wherein Shanker, now president of the UFT's national parent, the American Federation of Teachers, became a leader in the education reform movement and strode onto the national stage. In chronicling the fifteen-year interregnum, Kahlenberg had to write about *something*. (There is, I'll concede, an interesting *entr'acte* about the role Shanker played during New York City's near default in 1975—the one that occasioned the famous *Daily News* headline "Ford to City: Drop Dead.") But Kahlenberg skims too lightly over the extent to which Shanker, along with AFSCME's Victor Gotbaum, *created* the crisis in the first place by driving up the cost of labor peace. (For that story, consult Ken Auletta's 1979 book, *The Streets Were Paved With Gold*.)

In the mid-1980s, Shanker the rabble-rouser became Shanker the statesman. The catalyzing event for Shanker was the release of *A Nation at Risk*, a government report by President Reagan's National Commission on Excellence in Education. The president had hoped the committee would endorse his pet causes of school vouchers and school prayer, but instead the report stated in extremely blunt language that the schools were "being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future as a nation ... If an unfriendly foreign power had attempted to impose on America the mediocre educational performance



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Please speak into the microphone!: Shanker meets the press.

Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images

that exists today, we might well have viewed it as an act of war." The report recommended a toughening of high school curricula; an end to "social promotion"—that is, not holding kids back a grade when they weren't cutting it; and instituting a merit-based pay scheme for teachers, as opposed to the existing scheme typically based on seniority. Before *A Nation at Risk*, Shanker had taken a consistently defensive stance about the quality of the public schools, which of course was largely reflective of his own members' competence. "Our public schools have, by any reasonable standard, enjoyed great success," he said in 1971. According to Kahlenberg, similar public statements from Shanker can be found in 1974, 1975, 1979, 1980, 1981, and 1982. But Kahlenberg says Shanker had gradually begun to understand that if public schools didn't improve, voucher programs might spread nationwide and ultimately destroy public education altogether. "The report is right," Shanker told his surprised staff. "We should say that before our members."

Woody Allen inserted into his 1973 movie, Sleeper, *the gag that civilization was destroyed when "a man by the name of Albert Shanker got hold of a nuclear warhead."*

Shanker began making statements that were remarkable for a union leader. "A lot of people who have been hired as teachers are basically not competent," he said on one occasion. Shanker even flirted with the idea of subjecting not only *prospective* teachers to competency tests, but *veteran* teachers as well (though later, when I asked him about that while reporting on a profile for the *New Republic*, he dismissed the idea). Shanker also favored testing students. Although Shanker would die of cancer three years before George W. Bush was elected president, in 1994 Shanker assessed a proposal that strongly resembles Bush's No Child Left Behind law. Testing students was fine, Shanker wrote, but he had two reservations. The first was that it was unrealistic to expect that "all children—or even the majority" could "achieve at an advanced level." The second was that when students flunked the test, the sanctions ought to fall on the students, not the teachers (who would already be accountable, in Shanker's scheme, through teacher testing and peer-review panels). "We will totally oppose any system that says kids can do nothing and move along and not be held accountable," he argued. These have, indeed, proven to be two significant vulnerabilities in No Child Left Behind.

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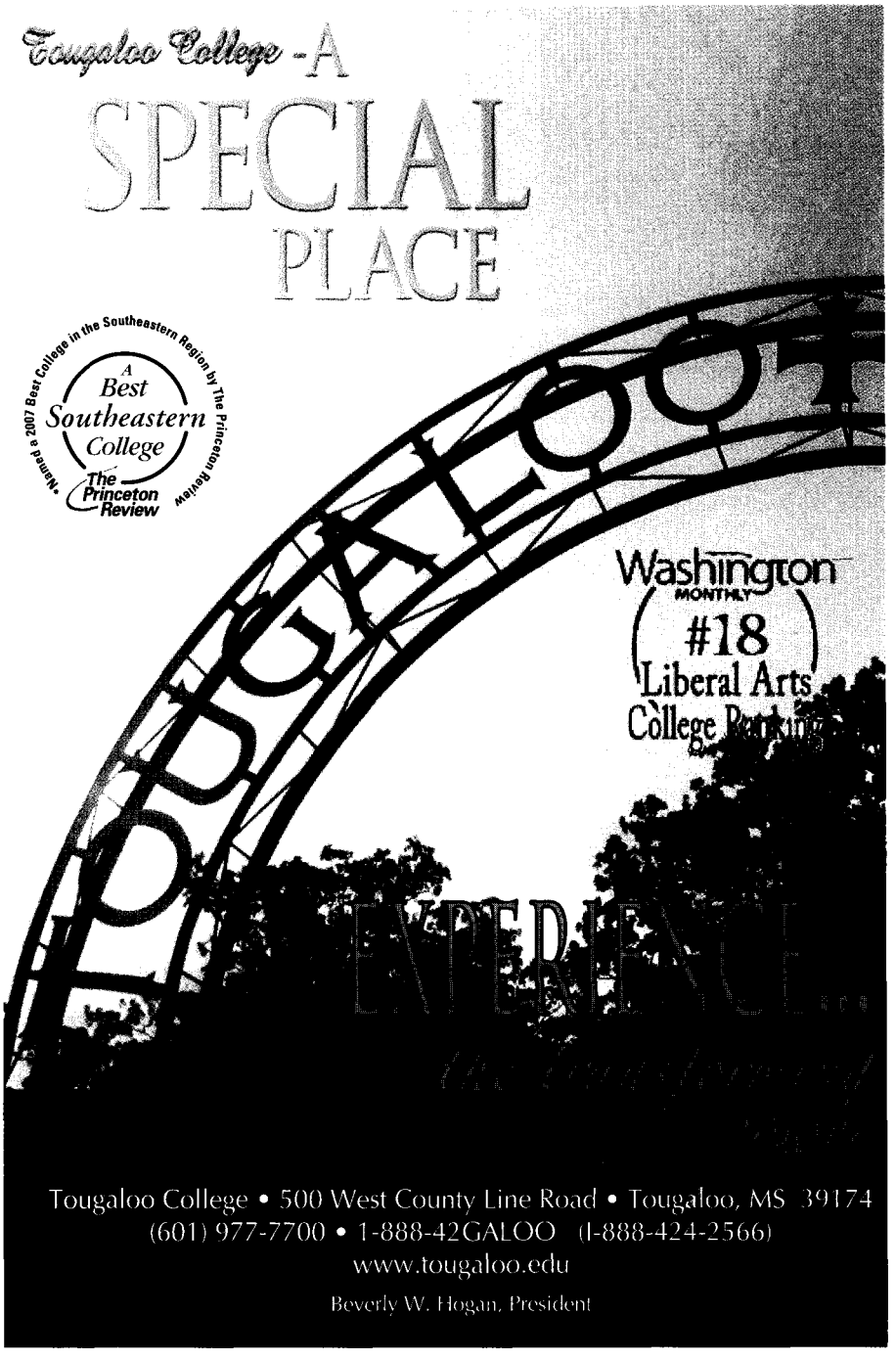
Why did Shanker's union brothers allow him to become a scourge of public education? Partly, Shanker joked, because teachers never believed, when Shanker railed against incompetents in the profession, that he was talking about them. A more serious explanation is that Shanker was drawing on a very deep well of support from his members. In building up the UFT and the AFT, Shanker had served jail time for calling illegal strikes. He had invited death threats by publicly criticizing black militants at a particularly tense moment in race relations. (This last inspired Woody Allen to insert into his 1973 movie, *Sleeper*, the gag that civilization was destroyed when "a man by the name of Albert Shanker got hold of a nuclear warhead." The joke was lost on non–New Yorkers, who had not yet heard of Shanker, but when Allen tried out the line using a number of different names at Elaine's, the Upper East Side watering hole, Shanker's name got the biggest laugh.) And of course, Shanker had given his union members a decent foothold in the middle class. In Shanker's view, his members had acquired respect commensurate with their role as professionals in the field of education, and were ready to assume some responsibilities.

A less heartening reality, Kahlenberg points out, is that the locals operating under Shanker were under no particular obligation to enact the policies advocated by their idealistic president. Shanker gave up leadership of the UFT (which he'd maintained on ascending to AFT president) just a few years after he began his standards crusade, and so ended up with no real authority to put his reforms into action at the ground level. According to Kahlenberg, "the vast majority of AFT's 2,200 autonomous locals did not pick up on the most controversial reforms." Education writer Thomas Toch has written that Shanker gave up on reforming the teaching profession by the early 1990s. Kahlenberg disputes this, but Shanker himself told Toch, "Convincing people to change has been a damn difficult thing to do. I would go into a state, talk up reform, and as soon as I left, the union attorney would come in and say, 'We've got a great tenure law, let's keep it.'"

Shanker's public embrace of *A Nation at Risk* clearly made some difference. Since its publication, the number of states requiring two and a half years of math and science has at least doubled, and more homework is being assigned. Merit pay has been instituted in many states, though often more in name than result. SAT scores have risen a bit, but scores measured in the National Assessment of Educational Progress, the best survey available of student achievement through high school, have stayed flat. There are actually *fewer* teachers who bring specialized knowledge to the subjects they teach. Oh, and the president of the AFT? He's a guy named Edward J. McElroy. Until I looked up his name just now, I'd never heard of him, either. WM

Tim Noah is a senior writer at *Slate* and editor of *The Woman at the Washington Zoo*, an anthology of writings by his late wife, Marjorie Williams.



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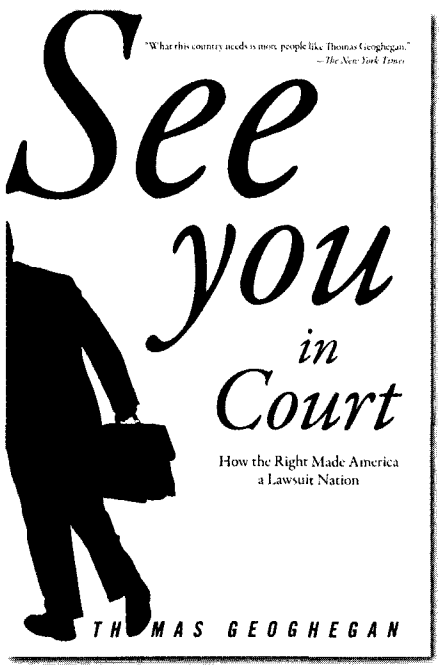

See You in Court: How the Right Made America a Lawsuit Nation

by Thomas Geoghegan
The New Press, 256 pp.

It's not litigious citizens who are causing America's lawsuit glut, argues labor lawyer Thomas Geoghegan. It's the dismantling of the regulatory state.

By Stephanie Mencimer

For years, authors like Philip K. Howard, Walter Olson, and ABC's John Stossel have churned out books declaring that lawsuits and the liberal lawyers who bring them are driving the country to ruin. They argue that the country is suffering from a collective abandonment of personal responsibility that has resulted in millions of citizens ready to sue their dry cleaners and other innocent bystanders over the slightest mishap. Books offering an alternative interpretation of Americans' legendary litigiousness have been few and far between—and mostly written by Ralph Nader. So Chicago labor lawyer Thomas Geoghegan's new book, *See You in Court: How the Right Made America a Lawsuit Nation*, offers a refreshing variant to the anti-lawsuit publishing monolith.

Geoghegan insists that the reason for all the lawsuits has nothing to do with personal responsibility or a surge in American victimology. He starts out in agreement with the conventional wisdom that Americans have gotten more litigious (a point many a personal injury lawyer would heartily dispute, as tort litigation has been on a steady decadelong decline). But, in a pointed rebuttal to Howard and the others, he suggests that an onslaught of lawsuits—particularly the employment lawsuits that Geoghegan specializes in—is the natural by-product of thirty years of right-wing efforts to deregulate the economy and dismantle institutions that protect average people from rapacious capitalism. Geoghegan is not the first person to observe that lawsuits often flourish where government fails—UC Berkeley poli-sci professor Robert Kagan has probably cornered the academic market on the subject—but he is by far the most entertaining of the bunch.

Geoghegan's worldview is shaped by his many years representing union workers, particularly the casualties of the steel industry collapse. Readers familiar with his work will not be surprised to learn that he blames much of the problem with lawsuits on the disappearance of organized labor, or what he calls "the Big Fact." He argues, for instance, that an increase in employment litigation has coincided precisely with the demise of old-fashioned union arbitration, where labor leaders worked with management to resolve employment disputes. The old system, he says, was cheaper, with built-in protections against the horrors found in today's scorched-earth litigation.

Geoghegan writes,

> *In the old contract arbitration, the goal was to reinstate—to put the employee back. The old union contract cases would try to restore community: if both employer and employee had to live together again, like a married couple, it made no sense to slash-and-burn. Let's be nice. But in the tort system, nobody is going back. Never happens. Not after the cost. Not after the $250,000 a company may pay its law firm. No way.*

See You in Court is in many ways a sequel to Geoghegan's award-winning first book,

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Which Side Are You On?, about the death of the labor movement. The style is similar, the writing also breezy. In both books, he successfully mixes wry observations about the political system with anecdotes from the frontlines of his own practice.

The essential charm of Geoghegan's writing is his honest, self-deprecatory style. He's not proud of the practices that he and his fellow lawyers descend to, and he doesn't exactly present himself as a hero. In the war stories of his legal practice, Geoghegan always loses, whether it's voting rights, gun control, or payday lenders he's taking on, and he's good at highlighting absurdity in the bar. For instance, in a chapter about why litigation costs are escalating, Geoghegan writes about one of his rare victories, a case where six New York law firms flew lawyers (who were known to bill $800 an hour) to Chicago to litigate an emergency motion. The emergency? The New York lawyers were protesting the fact that Geoghegan's firm had used a fax, rather than overnight mail, to send the other side a motion.

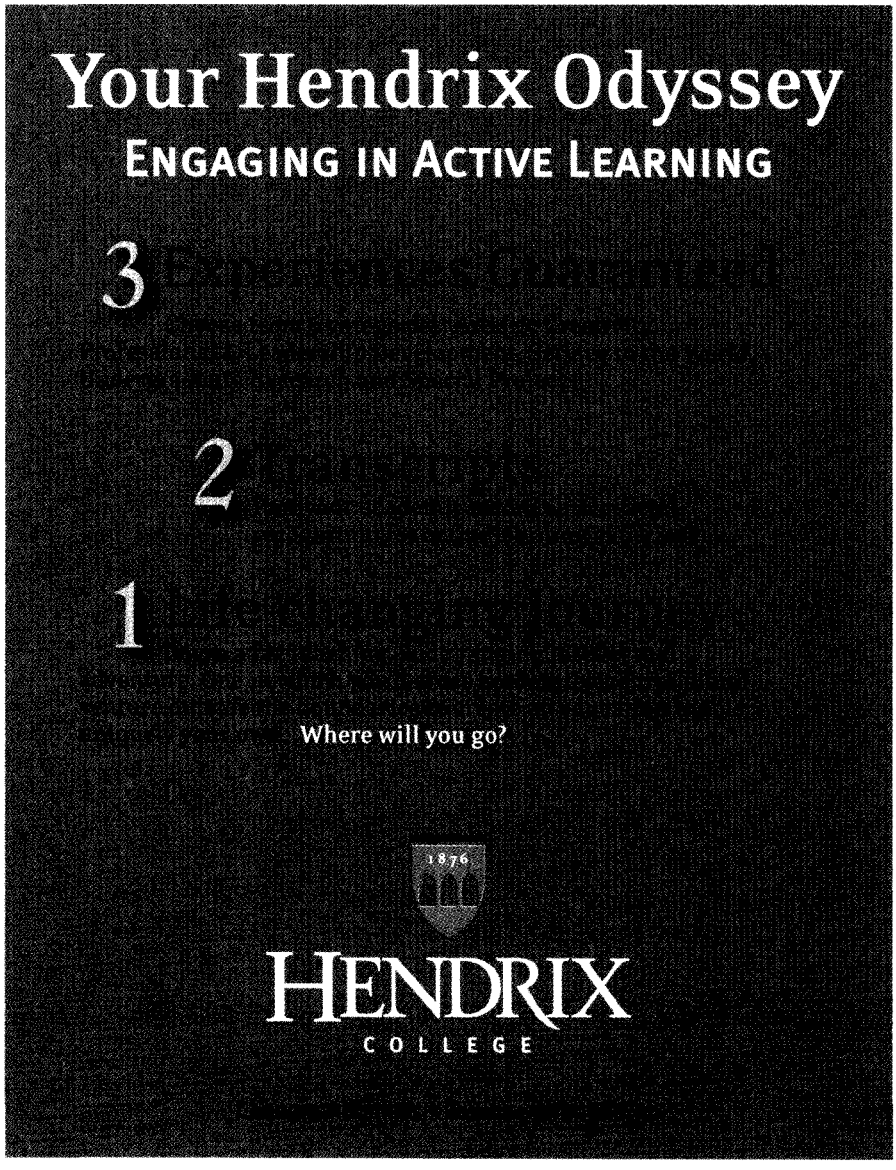
Geoghegan's client in the case was fatally ill, a fact which he uses to make a larger point. Such legal tactics, Geoghegan says, serve to enrich the defense lawyers at the expense of dying plaintiffs: the more the litigation costs, the less money is left in the company's insurance policy to settle—a common practice that Geoghegan calls "self-cannibalizing." He laments that he is part of the problem. "The more we sue over looting of pension funds or just plain old-fashioned medical error, the more the money flows to people at the top—to law firms, to 'experts,' to the insurance companies. That's how it works in a plutocracy. The more we sue the rich, the richer the rich get."

In the end, though, the book is ultimately frustrating. Small things start to annoy, like the fact that Geoghegan doesn't identify a lot of the people or the parties in cases he writes about, presumably because he's still suing them. The lack of specifics is the hallmark of anecdote-based books attacking the legal system from the right, and it badly weakens Geoghegan's authority on his subject.

The book's major failing, however, is that it suffers from a lack of hard facts. It's more rant than reporting, like something Geoghegan wrote at night in between briefs and a stiff drink. While many of his anecdotes do support his notion that the disappearance of organized labor and government regulation has sent Americans running to court, he doesn't bolster the argument with much in the way of data.

For instance, Geoghegan argues that the judicial branch has assumed much of the power of the legislative branch over the past forty years as the rest of the government has become too weak to govern. It's a provocative idea, and one that many on the right have also made. One of the only pieces of empirical evidence Geoghegan offers to support his thesis is that today there are more federal judges on the bench in Chicago than there were in 1962. He then speculates that judgeships around the country must have also seen exponential growth, but he doesn't bother to check. Why not find out for sure?

Even if he did, though, his argument falters on another piece of simple math. After all, there are 120 million additional people living in the U.S. today than there were in 1960, so it stands to reason that we might have a few more judges (not to mention lawsuits), regardless of what's going on in the political system. It's a small point, but it suggests a larger sloppiness



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that undercuts many of the valid arguments Geoghegan has to make.

And then there is Enron. Oh, how I want to believe that tort reform caused Enron! Efforts to analyze the role of the 1995 Private Securities Litigation Reform Act (which restricted shareholder suits over fraud and other misconduct) in the corporate scandals of the early millennium have spawned entire conferences and law review articles on both sides. But it's still just a theory that's mostly loved by securities lawyers on the plaintiff side. Yet Geoghegan embraces it uncritically.

The early promise of the book bogs down in the last third, when Geoghegan moves away from the legal system and into philosophy and, finally, politics. While his assessment of the nihilism of the right-wing lawyers of the Federalist Society is dead on, the chapter on legal philosophy is a tough read, meandering through John Rawls and Aquinas, Aeschylus and Abbe Sieyes. Geoghegan is clearly well read, and the philosophy is mixed in nicely with a critique of the U.S. Supreme Court. But Geoghegan overreaches in his attempt at political analysis. He devotes a fair amount of time to the tired arguments about the evils of gerrymandering, the elitism of the U.S. Senate and the electoral college, and how small rural states with a tiny fraction of the population get to dictate policy for everybody else.

While he's right about all of it, the discussion seems largely out of place in a book that sets out to show "How the Right Made America a Lawsuit Nation." After all, the Senate has been elitist for more than 200 years, but the so-called "litigation explosion" only began thirty or forty years ago. In the end, it's far more fun to read Geoghegan on Geoghegan—not the philosopher, but the underdog labor lawyer losing worthy cases, aching for justice, and using pointed, dry humor to illustrate just how much the right is responsible for this mess he sees down at the courthouse every day. WM

Stephanie Mencimer is a contributing editor of the *Washington Monthly* and the author of *Blocking the Courthouse Door: How the Republican Party and Its Corporate Allies Are Taking Away Your Right to Sue.*

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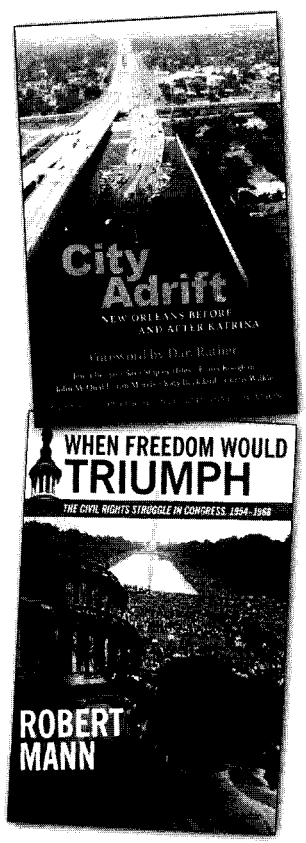

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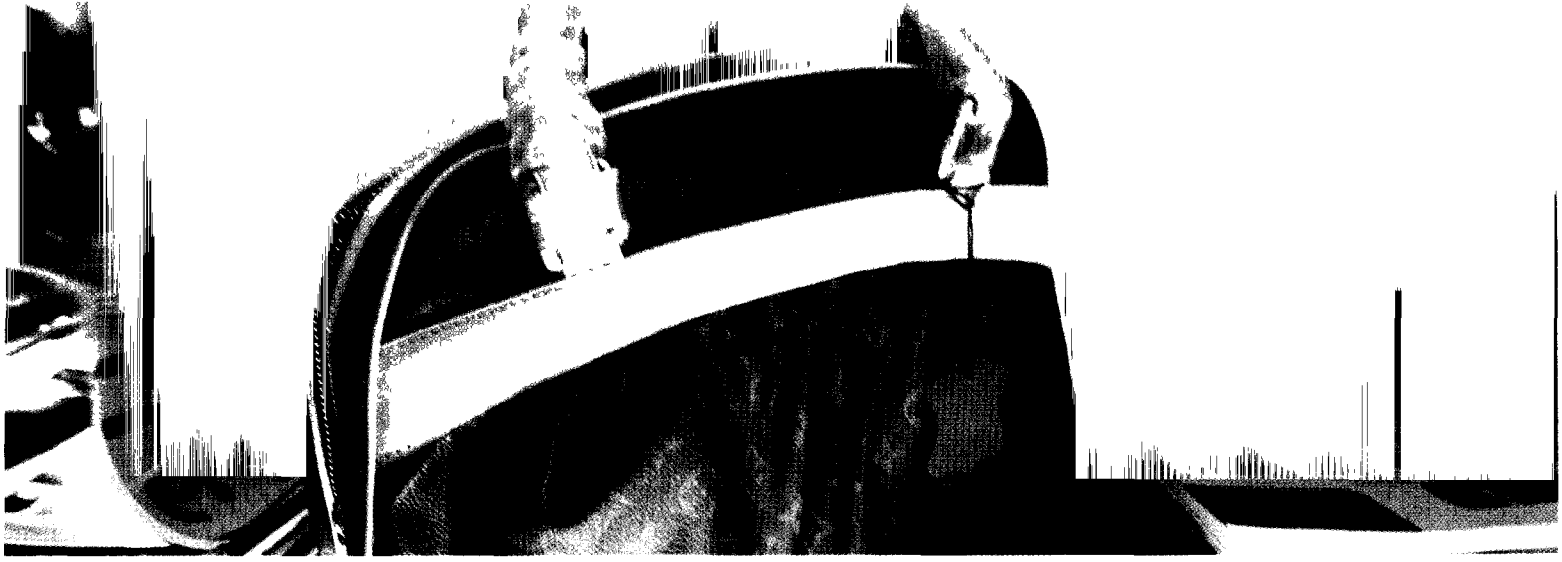
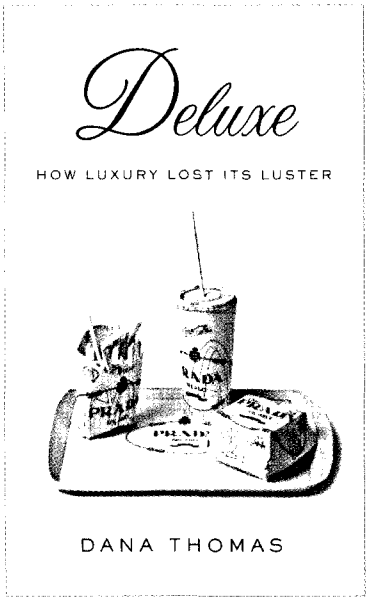


The Devil—and Everyone Else—Wears Prada

The democratization of luxury

By David Wallace-Wells



Deluxe: How Luxury Lost Its Luster
by Dana Thomas
Penguin Press HC, 384 pp.

In the early nineteenth century, a thirteen-year-old French boy named Louis Vuitton left his modest family homestead, a farm near the base of the Alps, for Paris, where he would become an apprentice to a luggage manufacturer. He made the 300-mile journey by foot, and, counting the odd jobs he picked up along the way, the trip took him more than two years.

In Paris, Vuitton designed the world's first flat-top trunk—earlier versions had domed lids to disperse rainwater off the backs of coaches—to produce, for the first time, luggage that could be stacked efficiently. Before, trunks had been made of leather, which often attracted mold and cracked, and Vuitton developed a lightweight waterproof poplar and cotton alternative. When competitors copied him, Vuitton introduced a recognizable canvas print of red and beige stripes intended to distinguish his handiwork; soon, red became brown, and the checked two-tone design became the signature company pattern. The distinctive Louis Vuitton features we have come to associate with luxury and privilege were developed by the unpretentious craftsman in response to particular and very practical problems, and although his celebrated studio served the richest and most discriminating families of nineteenth-century Europe, it retained until his death in 1892 the ethos of a humble workshop, dedicated to exquisite quality produced in small volume. That year, the company produced its first handbag.

Today, Louis Vuitton is no modest Parisian atelier but the flagship brand of the world's largest luxury goods conglomerate, LVMH (Moët Hennessy Louis Vuitton). Vuitton's kind of fairy tale no longer has a place in the fashion industry, laments *Newsweek* correspondent Dana Thomas, in her new, richly reported book, *Deluxe: How Luxury Lost Its Luster*, because craftsmanship and elegance no longer govern the business. Profits do. Conglomerates like LVMH make money not by selling at prices that reward quality but in volume that rewards aggressive branding. Those houses that have thrived in the new $157 billion luxury goods economy have done so by marketing an image of Old World craftsmanship to the global midmarket consumer and by manufacturing brand-

Associated Press

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ed products she might finally be able to afford. *Deluxe* is a melancholy meditation on the fate of the handbag in the age of mechanical reproduction.

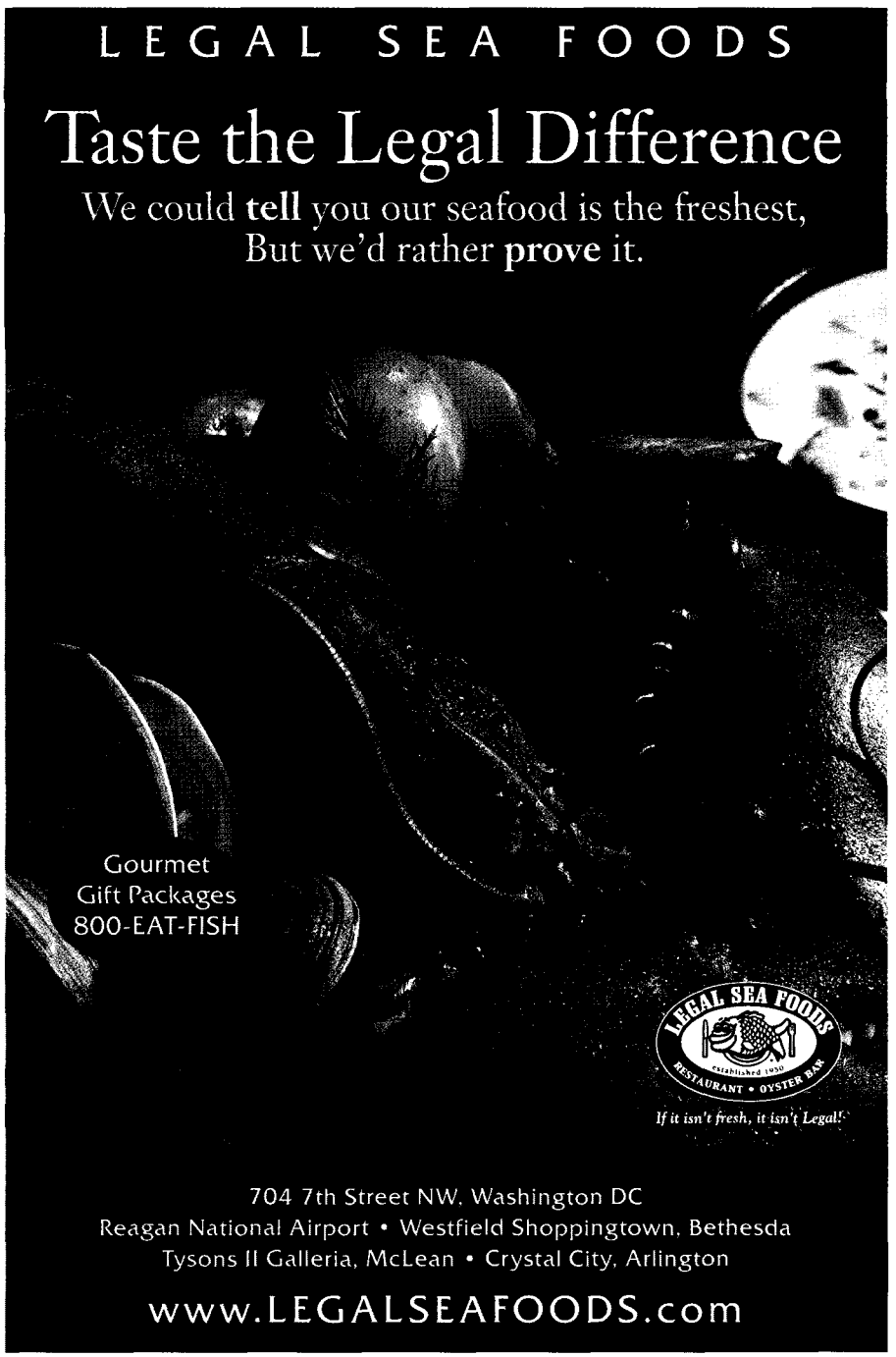
Once upon a time, Thomas writes, the finest goods in the world were produced in small workshops run by family-owned businesses with retail outposts at Europe's most desirable addresses in stores as solemn and exclusive as the dressing rooms of private estates. The business of these stores was conducted in hushed tones, Thomas recalls, and the salesladies weren't just employees but models of aristocratic restraint.

These days, the opening of a luxury store is itself a public event, and the purpose of the structure is not to fortify a privileged retail space but to advertise the treasures found inside. Retail stores are often built with inviting transparent or translucent material and feature art galleries, screening rooms, concert halls, chic bars, and world-class restaurants. Saleswomen function not as service employees but as models. One Chanel store features a facade embedded with 700,000 light-emitting diodes that project swirling Chanel symbols into the night; more people visit the high-end Forum Shops mall at Caesars Palace in Las Vegas every year than do Disney World.

These anecdotes reveal a curious undercurrent of tycoon entitlement in the purchasing patterns of working Americans, but Thomas does not dwell on the U.S.—nor, for that matter, on Europe, though her book purports to trace the decline of a continental artisanal tradition. Her story is really about the rise of a new luxury retail culture, dominated by Asia, with aspirational Japanese buying products manufactured by industrious Chinese in an exchange of goods merely supervised by the European houses.

Thomas quotes executives who describe Russia as "a young consumption economy unwilling to save," and who pay lip service to the potential of the Chinese market, and who point to the 22 million Indians that join the consumer class every year. But the true prize in the new luxury economy is Japan. Half of all luxury goods produced in the world are sold to the Japanese, more than 40 percent of whom own at least one Louis Vuitton item. The journalist Kyoichi Tsuzuki has documented the country's consumer frenzy in an acclaimed series of casually composed photographs of its "happy victims": a schoolteacher in a shoebox apartment with a hundred-piece Versace collection and a girlfriend who curates it; a Buddhist monk who wears only Commes des Garçons when he leaves his monastery; a patent executive whose Hermes stockpile, each piece preserved in its original box, occupies most of the volume of his four-story walkup, and who carries his Hermes briefcase to work with an Hermes towel wrapped around the handle to guard against perspiration damage.

The expansion of the luxury business isn't strictly a function of a growing public appetite, of course, and when Thomas suggests that the industry has *suffered* from commercialization, she marks herself as a courtier critic with a Tom Ripley–like romance for the antique ornaments of extreme wealth. It is hard to feel bad for the producers of luxury goods, for example, when encountering stories of Japanese who work as prostitutes



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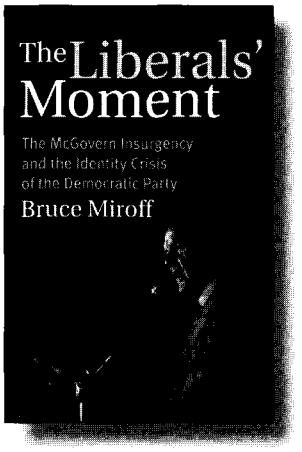
The Liberals' Moment

The McGovern Insurgency and the Identity Crisis of the Democratic Party

Bruce Miroff



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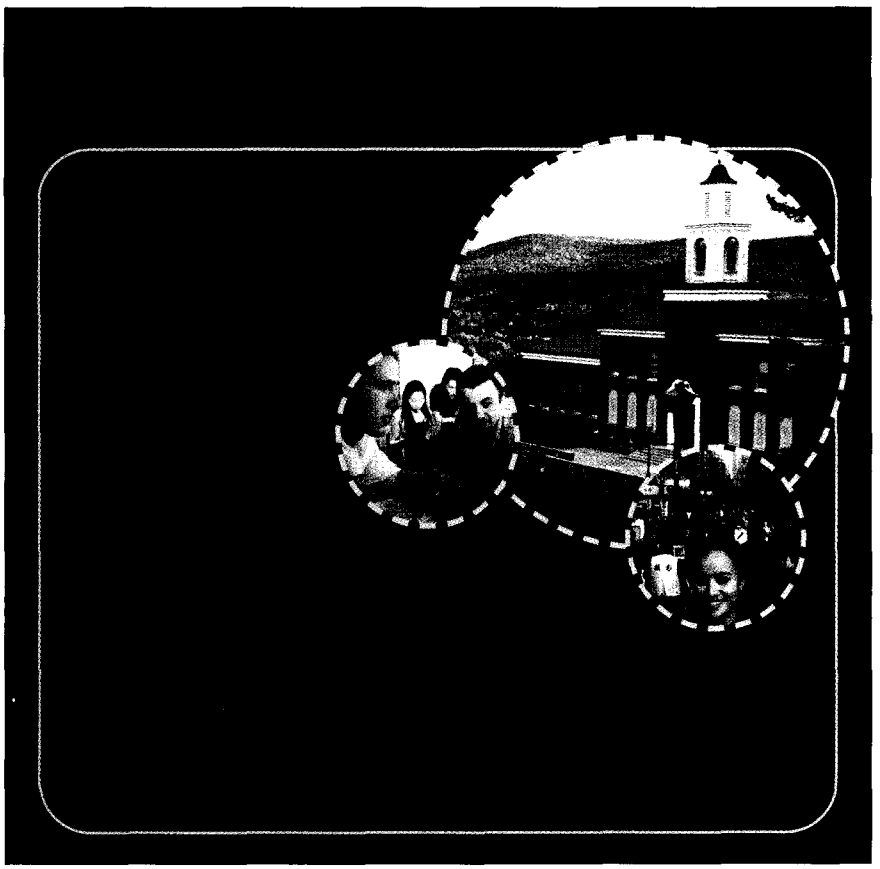

to pay for new purses, or of Hurricane Katrina victims who used their Red Cross cards to buy from Louis Vuitton, whose profit on each handbag is 1,300 percent.

It is hard, but Thomas manages. She dismisses the term that the industry uses to describe its transformation: the "democratization of luxury." She believes that leading houses have abandoned their artisanal ideals and that, far from welcoming new members to the leisure class, the new downmarket approach has merely lowered the standards by which a product is judged to be a luxury good. Though she is rarely without a supportive detail or data point on other subjects, Thomas can muster only anecdotal evidence to suggest that craftsmanship has suffered as the industry has expanded into new markets. At one point, she admits that Japanese customers frequently return products with defects acceptable or invisible to French and American buyers; at another, she writes that the head of Louis Vuitton Japan often returns items, even whole shipments, to headquarters, with the instruction "Please sell these in Paris." What Thomas mourns isn't the loss of quality but of glamorous exclusivity.

The greatest threat to that exclusivity is the counterfeit market. One industry association reports that the counterfeiting of all goods has grown 1,700 percent since 1993; another estimates that as much as 7 percent of world trade is counterfeit. Louis Vuitton executives have suggested that only one in a hundred items bearing the famous LV logo is authentic. And yet, it is hard to sympathize with manufacturers, or with Thomas, who argues that counterfeiting amounts to lost profits and is an affront to intellectual property. This despite the fact that most items are produced in a country—China—historically hostile to that principle, and despite the fact that the black market contributes to brand visibility without siphoning too many potential customers from the legitimate retailer. Over several decades of mass marketing, luxury goods companies have taught the world to desire products bearing brand names most consumers could not possibly afford. You reap what you sew. WM

David Wallace-Wells is a writer living in New York.

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